Modern Catholic-occupied Unity Walk flats in the distance, seen from the hard core Protestant Shankill Road district

One of the most publicised injustices which, it was claimed, the Protestant majority had worked against the Catholic minority was the appalling housing conditions in which the Catholics had to live.

The author of this book found that the same living conditions were shared equally by many Protestants. He noticed no difference in the rows of houses in the Catholic and Protestant districts. Indeed, he came across Protestant workers complaining that Belfast was discriminating in favour of the Catholics. One, met in a saloon near the place of the above picture, complained that he, his wife and five children were living in one room, while the Catholics were housed in modern blocks of flats, most of them still under construction in the background. A paratrooper, after having been attacked by Catholics with bricks nearby, also complained: "They give these people better houses than we have got at home, and all they do is smash them over their own head."

Nests of sandbags with machine-guns were visible on the roof (small spots left and right). At the time of the author's visit they were heavily guarded by troops. In the foreground, a Protestant building burned down by Catholics.

The Border between North and South would have ceased to exist de facto if not de jure. Irish Unification thus would have been achieved.

The socio-economic-political magnification campaign which began early in 1968 was a tremendous success. The religious smoke screen gave it, more than anything else, gigantic vigor. As the campaign progressed, the escalation of violence accelerated. Local I.R.A. men took the command in their hands. The locals became strengthened by men from the South. Until eventually the I.R.A. itself directed the operation inside Ulster, not only from Dublin but also from Belfast and even London.

Arms were supplied with mounting generosity. Notwithstanding financial, technical and political difficulties, the flow of weapons continued. The I.R.A. and the Catholics of Ulster were transformed into a veritable para-military army.

While the I.R.A.'s religious-political war escalation reached its zenith inside Northern Ireland, a political confrontation was rocking the South.

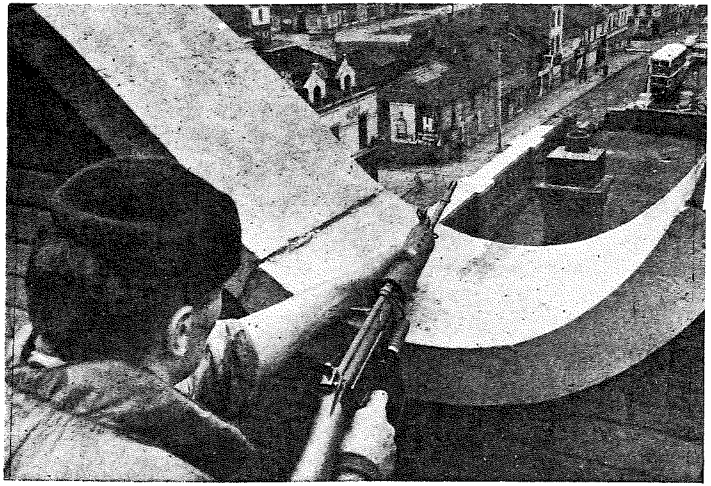
The Nationalists within and outside the Dublin Government talked about ending Ireland's partition. A growing influential minority advocated joining the I.R.A.'s campaign directed at the positive disruption of Ulster from within, to be followed by a concrete attack on the Border from without.

Opinions were divided. The Dublin Government was split. The rift came out in the open when certain members of the Cabinet itself were caught red-handed. Or so it seemed to be.

Two Cabinet Ministers, Mr. Charles Haughey, Minister of Finance, and Mr. Neil Blaney, Minister of Agriculture, were charged with the buying of weapons for the purpose of importing them illegally into Ireland. The accusation was a serious one. It clearly implicated the Irish Republic with conniving with the nationalistic elements and thus directly with the subversive activities of the I.R.A. within and outside Northern Ireland. Not to speak of the repercussions there could be within the Ulster and British Governments.

The accusation accelerated a crisis in Dublin, in the I.R.A.'s campaign in Belfast, and in London.

The Irish Republic, which during the previous year, as we have mentioned elsewhere, at the height of the summer riot had not only invoked the intervention of the United



"SENTINEL OF DEATH" — British soldier on the roof of a building in Belfast

The soldier seen in the picture was one of the thousands stationed all over Ulster to check the escalating terror of the I.R.A. Many of them were posted on the roofs of private houses, public buildings and even churches, keeping a twenty-four hours vigil for potential gunmen.

At times their vigilance was successful, at others it was not.

The rooftop pictured above was the observation post in Belfast's Northumberland Street where rifleman David Walker, of the First Battalion Royal Greenjackets, was standing on duty. Suddenly three shots rang out from one of the derelict buildings seen below and across the street. Walker was hit and died. As he was taken down, crowds of children and women began to chant a familiar slogan: "One down, more to go".

The killing of soldiers became increasingly frequent with the escalation of violence. So much so that by October, 1971 twenty-five British soldiers had been shot dead by the insurgents. The toll almost doubled in subsequent months. Very often, after a soldier had been wounded or even killed, hostile crowds jeered and insulted the rescuers. There were even instances when the mob tried to prevent the ambulances from doing their duty.

Nations but had also sent units of its army to the Ulster border, now had to show that it was not involved—at least officially—in the purchasing of arms meant for use in a forthcoming attack upon Northern Ireland.

And so it was that on May 6th, 1970, the two Catholic Ministers were dismissed from the Cabinet by Premier Mr. Lynch. They were eventually to appear before a Dublin District Court on a charge of conspiring to import arms and ammunitions *illegally* into Ireland. Besides the two Cabinet Ministers, there were in court two other men accused in the gun-running business. Their status was ominous. They were: Captain James J, Kelly, Intelligence Officer of the Irish Army, and, even more significantly, John Kelly, Chairman of the Belfast Central Citizens' Defence Committee. The charge was that "between March 1 and April 24 this year, within Dublin and in other places within and without the State, they conspired together and with other persons unknown to import arms and ammunition into the State of Ireland, contravening the Firearms Act of 1925 as amended by the Firearms Act of 1964."

The men were eventually acquitted and discharged.

But the disclosure had focussed the light upon the involvement of the Irish Republic in the running of guns into Northern Ireland, That this was so was further confirmed by the fact that Captain Kelly, a senior military intelligence officer known as G.2, soon afterwards made a startling revelation: Namely, that the very Minister of Defence, Mr. John Gibbons, had been implicated in the affair. "Any work I did I brought to the knowledge of Mr. Gibbons at any and at every opportunity. He is completely aware of anything I did." When asked whether he had been engaged in gun-running, he replied: "As an Army officer I cannot answer that question. Anything I did do was done with the full knowledge and on the instructions of the Minister of Defence. Under the Official Secrets Act I cannot say any more" (1)

The implication of the Irish Republic—or at least of such influential Ministers—in the plot can be best understood when we are cognisant of what was afoot.

Since the I.R.A.—or, rather, its most militant section, with whom all these activities were directly and indirectly linked—was preparing to set in motion daring plans of its own. It proposed, once the arms smuggling had been successfully carried out, to invade Northern Ireland. Nothing more nor less.

The proposed attack would have taken place at the Northern Irish border town of Strabane. Strabane is on the border of County Tyrone in Ulster and Co. Donegal in the Irish Republic, and is divided by a bridge which could be held by a few men. The strategy of the attack was inspired by an old I.R.A. strategy known as the Newry Plan. This originated from the 1930's, when the leaders of the I.R.A. had decided to capture the Ulster town of Newry and hold it in the same manner as the "martyrs" of 1916 had taken key sites in Dublin and held them against the British Army for a week. In this case the I.R.A.'s object was to provoke the British Army, then occupy Ulster.

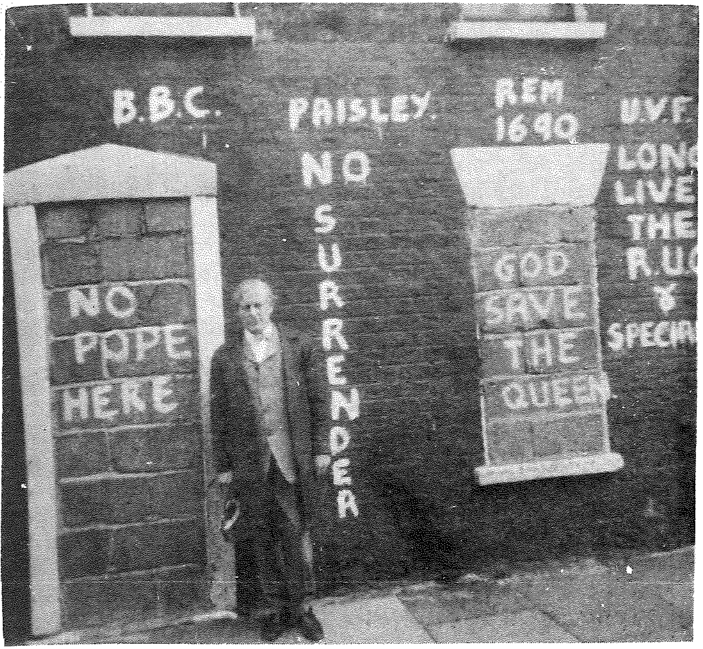
If the British Army engaged the invading I.R.A. group, the I.R.A. hoped (and it had reason to believe it would succeed, in view of the supporters it had within the Dublin Government itself) to be able to force the Army of the Free State to come to its defence. The Catholics within Ulster, with local units of the I.R.A., by now all well armed, would all have rushed to their help. The United Nations would have been asked to intervene by sending U.N. troops. The fait accompli having been established, the status quo would have been maintained indefinitely. Then the British Labour Government, following well rehearsed shows of phony jingoism, would have withdrawn the British Army and washed its hands of the Irish question. Ulster thus would have become an integral part of the Irish Republic.

The plan had the tacit approval of certain circles in the Labour Party and, above all, of the Labour Government. In fact, the Socialist Government until then had pursued a policy meant precisely to reach such a climax.

All the energetic preparations in Ulster, in the South and in London were directed to The Day.

The Catholics of Ulster had armed themselves as never before. The I.R.A. amidst them had formed themselves into military units, one I.R.A. man boasting that he "controlled eleven out of the twelve I.R.A. battalions of the Belfast Brigade." (2)

The I.R.A. had attempted an invasion not so long ago. In December, 1956, in fact, they had launched a 150-man attack against Ulster after getting weapons in Paris, Man-



No Pope here. No surrender. God save the Queen. The three standard slogans of Protestant Ulster

A typical writing on the wall, which could be seen in many parts of Northern Ireland, to match the anti-Protestant slogans seen on the walls in Catholic areas.

The slogans above, however, more than a challenge to the Catholics identified with their call to have Ulster incorporated into the Catholic Republic of the South, were assertions of loyalty to the British Crown, demonstrations of determination to resist the Catholic attempt to destroy Northern Ireland as a semi-autonomous British province, and traditional mottos indicating dislike of the Catholic Church symbolised by the Pope, always regarded as the foe of all Protestants.

Rem 1690 means: Remember the Battle of the Boyne, fought in 1690, when the Catholics were soundly defeated and the Protestant hegemony began. The author between blocked door and window.

chester and elsewhere. They controlled parts of the countryside for several months. The attack was a failure. Since the I.R.A. then was alone.

Now, however, it had powerful allies. The well organised, well armed Catholics inside Ulster, the I.R.A. secret battalions in Belfast and Londonderry, the Republican Government in the South, and the Socialist Government in London.

The preparatory strategy was a simple one. The I.R.A. and the Catholics inside Ulster had to create such disorder by riots and street fighting as to make the situation unbearable, so that eventually the Army of the Irish Republic, with the prearranged consent of the Labour Government of London, would cross the border, occupy Ulster, and thus re-create a single United Ireland.

Catholic Nationalist leaders were frankly honest about it. Witness Mr. E. MacAteer, President of the Nationalist Party in Ulster: "If the worst came to the worst," he said in June, 1970, "e.g. bad trouble like last August (1969), I would like to see the Irish Army, *preferably with the approval of London,* come in and protect people." (3) "We are Sudeten Irish up here, and we look to Dublin if we are in real trouble," he added, with ominous reference to the Catholics of Sudetenland, who before the Second World War had acted exactly as the Ulster Catholics were then acting, in order to justify the intervention of Hitler to unite them with the German Fatherland. The event was described in detail by the present author in one of his major books, "THE VATICAN IN WORLD POLITICS."

The Head of the I.R.A. himself made it clear that there was no other way "to freedom and emancipation of the Irish people" except through force. (4)

The pattern was set. The promotion of a campaign of escalating disorders was initiated. The date of the Irish Armaggedon was fixed: the 12th of July, 1970, when the Orangemen, the backbane of Protestant Ulster, were busy celebrating the Victory of the Boyne which had ensured Protestant predominance of the province.

Everything was moving smoothly, as planned. The flow of arms was reaching the Ulster Catholic recipients. Notwithstanding the Dublin setback, the I.R.A. had been mobilised. The Dublin and British Red governments had come to a tacit working understanding and were set to act upon it. All there was to do was to wait patiently till the vigil of the day.

But then an unexpected thunderbolt threw everything into confusion. Harold Wilson, the Socialist Premier, and his inner clique, inebriated with unwarranted pride, decided to add more power to what they already had. They decreed a premature General Election in June, 1970, sure of an overwhelming popular mandate. They were ignominiously and deservedly defeated.

chapter 15

Sinister Significance of the Secret Journey into Ulster by the Minister for External Affairs of Eire

- — *Stop to the appeasement policy*
- — *Confusion amidst the plotters of London and Dublin*
- — *The virgin Catholic areas were searched*
- — *Seizure of Catholic weapons "by the lorry load"*
- — *General Catholic outcry*
- — *The secret journey into Ulster*
- — *Catholic pressure to ban the Orange celebrations*
- — *Why Dublin sent its Foreign Minister on his secret journey*

* * *

THE LABOUR DEFEAT was not only a disaster for the British Socialists. It was a catastrophe for the Irish Interventionists. Since the shifting of power in Britain bore an ill wind for the grandiose plan of invasion, occupation and annexation of the North by Southern Ireland.

Their forebodings proved justified. For the new Conservative Government, as already seen, reversed Labour's Irish policy. The accelerated appeasement of the Reds came to a halt. The commander of the British troops of occupation in Ulster was told to stop the policy of partiality towards the Catholics and the I.R.A. The Army henceforth would deal with the Catholics exactly as they had previously dealt with the Protestants. The age of discrimination had past.

There was a flurry of anxious activities amid the Catholics of Ulster, Dublin and London. Should they accelerate the pace of their plans of invasion, or should they postpone the Irish Armaggedon?

Rifts appeared amid the Ulster, Dublin and London Interventionists. The I.R.A. wanted action. So did the most extreme elements in Ulster. The Dublin Government urged caution. An Irish invasion of Ulster might not turn out to be the peaceful "walk-in" arranged with the Socialists and the inner clique of the Irish-Reds of Westminster.

The Interventionists within the Irish Republic and the I.R.A., both in Dublin and in Ulster, however, decided to go ahead. The July date had to be kept. British Government or no British Government.

The Tories got wind of what was afoot. The accelerated transport of weapons into Ulster had been intensified to an unprecedented scale. The sundry depôts of arms located in Ulster, in the South and even in England were being activated "on the quick."

There was no time to lose. The 12th of July was approaching fast. Intelligence reports came thick into Whitehall to the effect that serious movements of men and arms were taking place. Acting upon them, finally the security forces clapped on a curfew and entered the until then "virgin" Catholic areas of Belfast, searching for hidden weapons.

The British Army's change of policy had been prompted by alarming reports which the British Ministry of Defence in London had received concerning the recent I.R.A. arms finds in London itself.

On the 1st and 2nd July, Scotland Yard and Special Branch men, in fact, had seized large quantities of arms and ammunition in several houses in London. The search continued simultaneously with the search in the Catholic quarters of Ulster. The first search, lasting from the 3rd to the 6th July, produced a veritable arsenal of lethal weapons, as we have already seen. Hundreds of Catholics were arrested.

British Occupational Troops attacked by Catholic mobs

The honeymoon between the Catholics and the British troops, which the latter had initiated from the beginning in an attempt to appease Catholic claims, by the Spring of 1970 had come to an end. The Catholics became ever more intransigent, since, their aim was the collapse of Ulster and her incorporation with the Catholic South. The classical military obtuseness which had ostracised the Protestants as the troublemakers thus had to review the situation anew. Owing to the increasing riots, bomb explosions, and the use of petrol bombs, finally the Commander of the British Army warned these petrol bomb throwers—that is the Catholics—that the petrol bomb thugs, would risk being shot dead by the British troops. The latter were given authority to open fire on anyone throwing petrol bombs. The order was given following three successive nights in the Springfield Road area of Belfast, when troops had to use C.S. gas against Catholic hooligans. Above, troops with riot shields repairing against a brick wall being showered by stones, bottles and other missiles hurled against them by the Catholics.—Easter, 1970.

The outcry at "the outrage" committed by the British Gestapo, as the Catholics now began to call the British Army, was deafening. Catholics in Ulster, Dublin and London screamed at "unfairness". Instant horror stories were invented. The British soldiers were looting, destroying and harassing Catholic women and children, ripping up parlour floors—with no mention of the Bren and machine guns hidden under them—and such like tales.

The Catholic screams reached such an hysterical innuendo that even the pro-Catholic or Socialist British Press winced at it. "The British troops," commented the Socialist "Sun," "have held the ring in the Lower Falls area (Catholic) with an absolute minimum of bloodshed." This was a reference to the fighting which the Catholics had started when the arms search began. There were many wounded and several dead. "Last autumn," it continued, "they did the same thing in the Protestant Shankill area. Where does that leave the accusations of anti-Catholic bias?" "They have captured a whole armoury, including sophisticated automatic rifles." (1)

It was an understatement. Since the Army had seized "weapons by the ton." As another paper put it: "In Belfast, arms, ammunition and explosives were being recovered by the lorry load."

In the House of Commons there were explanations and protests at the vicious Catholic innuendos. The Minister of State, Ministry of Defence, told the House why civilians had been killed:

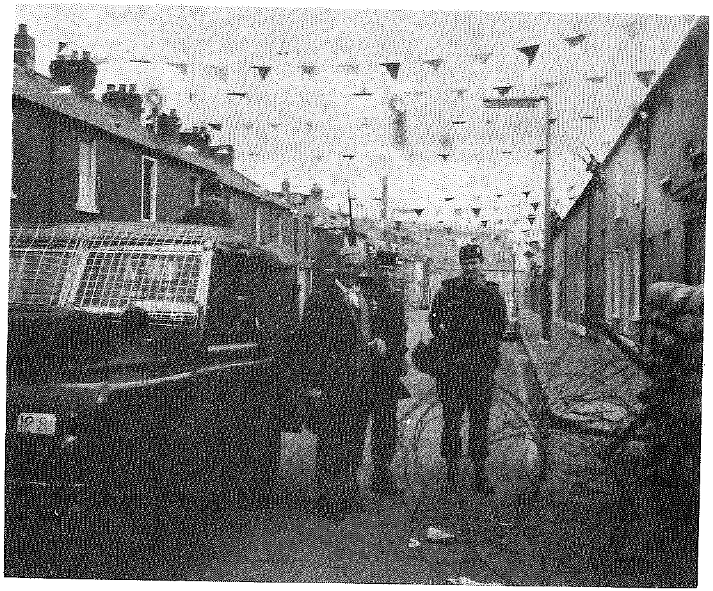
> "After a successful search for arms in the Falls Road area, the Army came under heavy attack from grenades and firearms and a street battle developed."

Another member voiced the approval of Parliament, although not of the Socialists, now in opposition:

> "The majority of ordinary people in Northern Ireland of every class welcomed the successful searches for arms carried out at the week-end. The population is appalled at the carnage and arson which has been perpetrated by a small vicious group of terrorists who have killed nine civilians in the past week and injured more than 400 in the streets of Belfast."

Yet another came to the crux of the matter:

> "What appears to have happened is that the Army have frustrated in advance a dangerous conspiracy of armed



The Author in the heart of the Protestant Area of Belfast with patrolling troops, machine gun nest on the right and heavily armed jeep on the left

One of the Catholic leaders' bitterest complaints was that while the Catholic areas were "swarming" with patrolling troops and guns, the Protestant ones were not. They refused to believe the author when he told them how he had noticed the same troops and patrols in the Protestant area. The author thereupon walked at random many times in the Protestant streets. There he met roaming troops with guns at the ready, moving at intervals of five or ten minutes. Machine gun emplacements and racing jeeps were as frequent as in the Catholic areas. While approaching a machine gun nest protected by sand bags, a patrolling jeep with a soldier, finger on the trigger, stopped to check.

Notice barbed wire on the pavement. Also festive bunting and banners decorating the street for the Orange Celebrations of the Battle of the Boyne. The patrol was met in Cooper Street, Protestant area of Belfast.

rebellion against the Crown, and the House owes them a deep sense of gratitude and support." (2)

Yet, notwithstanding everything, the official voice of horrified protest came suddenly from Dublin itself. The Irish Republic's Government, on the 5th July, called for "the protection of the Roman Catholic minority in Belfast." In an official statement issued after a Government meeting, it said:

> "There has now (following the seizure of Catholic weapons) been unilateral disarmament of one section of the Belfast people, the Catholic minority of the Falls area. . . . The Government is getting very full and reliable information from people living and working in the North, particularly in the affected areas."

The Irish Republic of the South could not have made it clearer that the unexpected seizure of the great arsenals in the Catholic zones had hurt them where it hurt most.

And yet more was to come. The next day, the Irish Republican Government, in its frenzy, overstepped all the boundaries of diplomacy and even of diplomatic and political decency. Disregarding all the basic rules between civilized nations, and, indeed, prudence, it now overreached itself. Dr. Hillery, Minister for External Affairs in the Irish Republic, went into Northern Ireland, without informing either the British or the Ulster Government, on an undercover mission and in total secrecy.

Upon his return to Dublin he announced that he had met *"the ordinary people"* in the Catholic area of the Falls Road in Belfast, and that he gained the impression *"that they had received an unwarranted visitation from the British Army"*. A reference to the Army's seizure of the vast Catholic arsenal, seized in the area. "The British Army," he added, was "no longer regarded as a friend and protector."

The Northern Irish and British Governments were shocked. The British Foreign Secretary described the visit as a "serious diplomatic discourtesy." "The Times" of London called it "unprecedented." The Foreign Office were unable to cite another instance of a Foreign Minister having gone covertly into another country. But more was yet in store. Dr. Hillery disclosed that he undertook his secret visit "at the request of the Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland, none other than Mr. J. Lynch himself." Then, to add insult

Paratroopers running for shelter under a hail of missiles hurled against them by the Catholics

The riots organised by the Catholics in 1970 were aimed at creating a state of confusion and civil unrest, with the set objective of promoting a kind of Easter Rebellion. There was talk of approaching civil war and even of open intervention by well-armed units of the I.R.A. within and outside Ulster. The date, it was rumoured, would be the 12th of July, on the eve of the 100,000 strong Orange Procession, which actually took place on the 13th.

The ideologically bigoted Labour Government, which had secretly encouraged such policies, however, fell with the General Election of the 18th June, 1970. The Conservative administration which followed re-shaped the Ulster policy. They ordered the security forces to search the Catholic areas for weapons, as they had done with the Protestants. Formidable quantities of arms were seized only days before the proposed "Armageddon." The rebellion was thus nipped in the bud, to the discomfort of the Reds of Britain and of Dublin, not to mention the I.R.A., who had to reshape their plans.

to injury, he boldly stated that he had asked all the Ambassadors in Dublin to put pressure upon the British Government to ban the forthcoming traditional Orange Parade of the 12th. Also that he had requested the United Nations to have the Ulster issue debated there.

But that was not yet the end. The other semi-official comrade-in-arms of the Eire Government also came to the fore. The Irish Republican Army's council in Dublin, in fact, that same day condemned "sectarian fighting in Belfast," criticising the British Army for its behaviour. It added that "with the introduction of guns, the situation became a vicious battle of Catholics against Protestants." An inappropriate reference to the fact that six Protestants were killed two days before.

The visit and declaration created a furore. It showed from where the inspiration of the Northern Ireland turmoil came. The British Foreign Office regarded it as an "aberation." It compared the visit and the I.R.A.'s statement to the intervention of the year before, when Mr. Lynch wanted to send the Irish Army into Northern Ireland, and then, having been refused the request, sent army units hovering along the border "in preparation."

What was behind it all?

What many had feared and what both the Ulster and the British Government—not to mention the British Army of Occupation—well knew. Namely, the security forces had detonated, just in the nick of time, a political time bomb which was about to explode in Northern Ireland. This it had done by the sudden massive confiscation of the enormous haul of weapons ready in Catholic hands. The flash point had to be the 12th July. The I.R.A. and associated Catholic Interventionists had planned to use the huge Orange Parade in Belfast as a starting point for a bloody armed insurrection on the same pattern as the Dublin Easter Week of 1916.

Brilliant and swift co-ordinated work by the Military Intelligence, Special Branch and Interpol in Ulster, Eire, Britain and elsewhere had prevented the Irish Interventionists from pressing the trigger.

Dr. Hillery had been sent there to confer with the leaders of the Catholics and allied Interventionist organisations in Belfast, to gather an accurate view of the true situation there.

Dr. Hillery, Minister for External Affairs in the Irish Re-

Avro Manhattan in the heart of the Catholic Area of Belfast with Patrolling Riot Squad Paratroopers

The Catholic leaders of the Central Citizens' Defence Committee, housed in the barricaded Catholic Falls, in the Summer of 1970, repeatedly told the author how they were being hounded "like wild beasts" by the patrolling British Army. They complained very bitterly that in the Protestant areas there were no such troops. Groups of soldiers with guns pointing skywards "at the ready" were passing every five minutes along the Catholic streets. They were supported by machine gun nests, also by racing Jeeps carrying troops, finger on the trigger.

In the photo, one of the patrols which the author met in the Leeson Street Falls. It was composed of one officer and two paratroopers. Three more were behind the camera. Notice the toughness of their expressions. Also the heavy truncheons they carry. The others, like the paratrooper in the middle, were all carrying their guns pointing skywards "at the ready".

Similar patrols were to be seen in both areas—Catholic and Protestant. The men behaved with icy impartiality, even when under prolonged provocation as demonstrated long after the above picture was taken.

public, had gone in the utmost secrecy to Northern Ireland, NOT to see "ordinary people," as he had declared, but to confer with Catholic leaders in the Falls area since it had now become imperative for the Interventionists in Dubln to know first hand what the position was now that tons of weapons were no longer in their hands.

No single ordinary Catholic in the Falls Road area saw him. When, a few days later, the present author asked dozens of Catholics all along the Falls whether they knew of anyone who had seen or spoken to Dr. Hillery they openly disbelieved that he had ever been there. As the London "Times" also put it: "It was virtually impossible to find anybody who had actually seen him." (3)

Dr. Hillery, however, had definitely gone to Ulster, where he had conferred with certain Catholic leaders. Only a few days later the author of this book went into the same building which Dr. Hillery had visited so hurredly and so secretly. This was a Catholic School-Monastery in the Falls Road itself, the Headquarters of the Central Citizens' Defence Committee of Belfast, Ulster.

chapter 16

The Armageddon which was not

- *12,000 armed troops to protect a procession*
- *Symbolical and historical significance of the Orange Order*
- *"A few old broken guns"*
- *The padre who knew too much*
- *Significance of the Central Citizens Defence Committee being housed in a monastery*
- *"Mr. Dolley" and the author visit "houses burned out by the Protestants"*
- *Catholic and Protestant patriotism*

ON THE 13th July, 1970 in Belfast, Ulster, there took place a gigantic procession of the Loyal Orange Institution of Ireland. It lasted uninterruptedly for over four and a half hours. It was a merry, colourful affair. One hundred thousand people participated, with sashes, banners, regalia, to the tune of hundreds of bands of accordions, pipes and drums. Had it not been for the sombre circumstances, it would have seemed a gigantic carnival, characterised by mass gaiety, songs, dancing and general merriment.

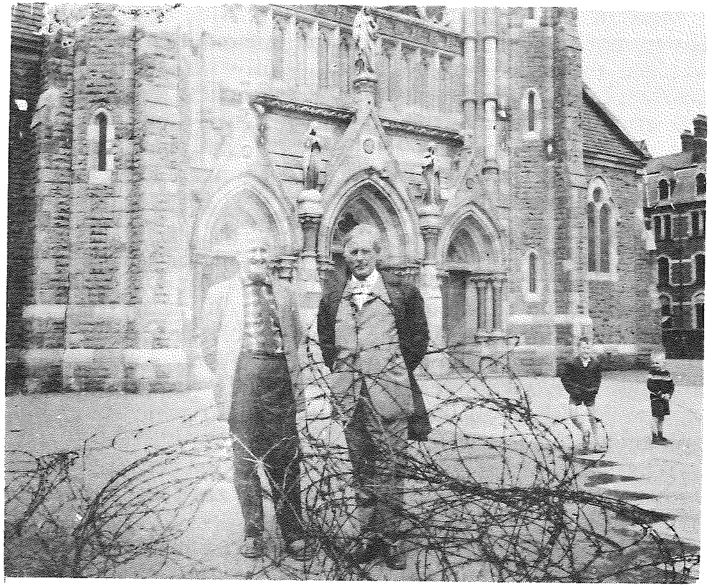
Most of the Protestant and even Catholic population of Ulster, not to mention hundreds of millions of TV viewers, watched the procession go by peacefully. Yet the sight of nearly 12,000 troops along the route, backed by more than 200 armoured vehicles, helicopters and every available anti-riot weapon, was a grim reminder of the tense situation. Since the Loyal Orange Institution of Ireland that year demonstrated more than ever in the past what it meant to the threatened province.

The Orange marches have always been symbols. Never more than that year. Since the pressure to stop them had also never been so widespread, so powerful or so relentless. It had come mostly from the Socialists of the Labour Party and from the Irish Government. Dr. Hillery and the Irish Premier had asked repeatedly for their suppression. A vicious British Press had done its best to whip up public opinion against them.

Why such hatred against what to anyone not conversant with Irish history seemed a misplaced zeal for outwardly empty parades?

The large contingents of Scottish Lodges in the procession perhaps can give the best clue. Every manifestation in Ireland has roots deep in history. We have already glanced at the origin of the great divide between Protestants and Catholics. It had all begun with the arrival of the Protestant settlers sent over by James VI of Scotland in the 17th century. They were the original Ulster Loyalists. It is said that Orangism was born in 1688, when groups of people came together to help King William III to "restore Protestantism." The real emotional background to today's Orange Protestantism, however, springs from the events of two years later, when 30,000 Scottish Protestants defied James II at the Siege of Londonderry. But even more so from the moment when the two champions of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism met on the field of battle at the River Boyne. The Battle of the Boyne was fought on July 1st, 1690. The victory, a few days later, caused the fall of Dublin. This is the general background, as seen elsewhere.

The foundation of the Orange Order as it is now dates from the 18th Century, when Catholic reaction produced bands of Catholic fanatics calling themselves "The Defenders of the Faith". Their goal: to wage war against the



A Catholic Nationalist leader and Avro Manhattan in the centre of the Catholic area of Belfast

Besides contacting the super-Catholic leaders of the I.R.A., as well as the Protestants, the author approached Civil Rights spokesmen at their headquarters, the Falls Road, Belfast. This was a monastery school.

There he talked with various priests, one of whom openly admitted that the Catholics in the area had "abundance of arms". This declaration was very ominous, since only a few days before the British Army had seized so many hidden arms in the district that it took two lorries to carry them away.

Mr. "Dolley", seen above with the author, and most courteously articulate, insisted that not long before the Protestants had tried to burn the church (seen above in the background). Furthermore, he proudly disclosed how some of his students were compiling a list of Protestants of Scottish ancestry and names, to see "how much land they had". The implication was obvious.

Background of the picture, Clonnard Church, Falls, Belfast. Notice the barbed wire in the foreground. Within less than ten minutes on 14th July, 1970, the author counted six patrols, guns "at the ready," plus several armed Jeeps, in the adjoining street.

Protestants.

Since then the two religious factions have become more polarised than before. The Orangemen, defending Protestantism and siding with its champion, England. During the 1798 rebellion the Orangemen fought on the side of the British troops; they supported the 1800 Act of Union; in the last years of the 19th century they resisted three attempts by the Westminster Government to introduce a Home Rule Bill for Ireland; and they played a prominent part in the signing of the Ulster Covenant and the eventual partition of Ireland.

The tradition has continued. Since every sound Orangeman fought in the two World Wars and has stubbornly nursed his fierce loyalty to Britain.

This loyalty is cemented by profoundly held religious tenets. So that their revered symbols, the Bible and the British Crown, have become almost synonymous with Orangism.

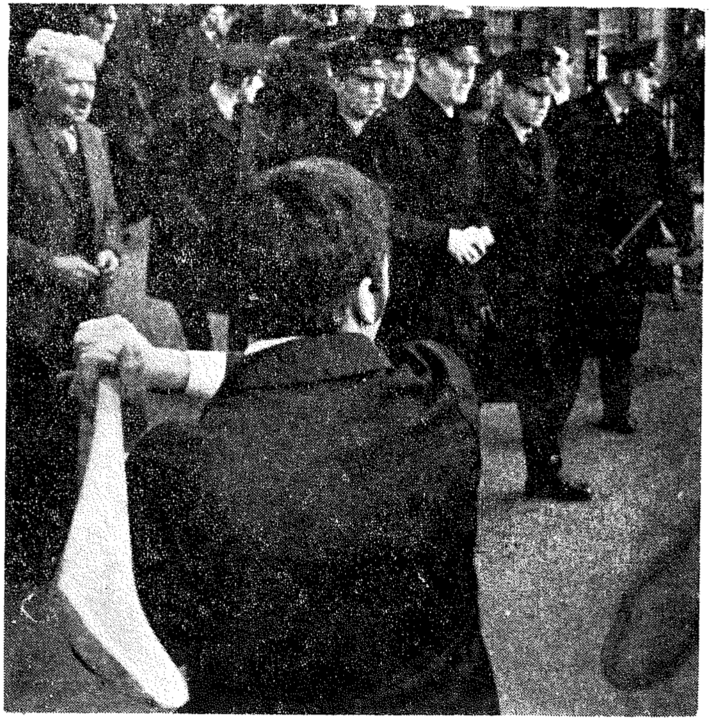
The Orangeman's favourite march is "The Sash" It is the historical, romantic and proud reminder of a tradition which is handed down from generation to generation:

"My father wore it when a youth
in by gone days of yore,
So on the 12th I proudly wear the
Sash my father wore."

In the present days of tension, therefore, the Orange Order, more perhaps than anything else in Northern Ireland, becomes not only the symbol but equally the manifestation of the visible determination of Protestant Ulster to remain Protestant and to stay British.

Translated into cool reality, that means Union with Britain. This in turn spells opposition to the Catholics' efforts, both from the North and from the South, towards partition, and thus towards incorporating Protestant Ulster into the Catholic Irish Republic of Dublin.

Immediately after the colossal Orange Procession, the present author spoke to the Grand Master of All Ireland. "We have a loyalty to the Protestant faith and to the British Crown, as ever", he said. To the author's query whether the Orange Order was anti-Catholic, "We are not anti-Catholics. We are not against anybody", was his reply. "We only wish to remain Protestants and British. That's all."



Catholic mourners armed with hurling sticks attack police during a funeral, 1971

A group of I.R.A. men, one of them seen above, attacks members of the Ulster Police when the cortège of the funeral of an I.R.A. man shot during the previous night's riots was refused passage through Heathfield Road, Belfast. The feet of one of the policemen who was felled by a blow can be seen at the right-hand top corner of the picture.

On this occasion the funeral procession was preceded by a band of men armed with hurling sticks. The procession was attacked twice. Stones, bricks and bottles were thrown at the cortège. The I.R.A. men with hurleys rushed at the attackers. During the fray the crowds, as well as the attackers and the attacked, sang party songs. At the graveside one speaker declared that the victim "had often said that he felt God had appointed him to sacrifice his life for the freedom of our country . . . . He had gone to join a band of gallant martyrs."

The Protestants talked likewise at the funerals of their dead. God was repeatedly invoked with equal sincerity by the two opposing sides. The saddest part of the tragic situation was that each party was genuinely convinced of the righteousness of their cause.

These sentiments were shared by all and sundry, from top to bottom of the Orange Order. The author spoke to hundreds of Orangemen, who were all emphatic on the above principles.

Yet to the Catholic Interventionists, the Orangemen are evil, sinister, and the cause of all the troubles of Northern Ireland. The Eire Foreign Minister, Dr. Hillery, the day before declared "We want these *provocative* parades stopped" adding somewhat ominously, "We know there will be trouble". Mr. Lynch, the Irish Premier, made a special appeal for peace on the eve of the parade. Catholics everywhere were mobilized to press for a ban on the Orange procession. Even a group of actors from Hollywood, better known for their film buffooneries than for their brains, appealed to the British Government to "prevent a massacre this week-end". Among them, John Ford and Gene Kelly. The Belgian League for the Defence of Human Rights also on the eve of the parade informed the world that "British troops in Northern Ireland are being used to support a regime contrary to human rights", at the same time forgetting to protest about the Communist regimes, or about black countries in Africa who were expelling whites and Asians alike en masse simply because they were not black—e.g. Kenya—or about the Indian Government massacring rebellious religious or political minorities.

Nothing happened. The well-planned Armageddon having been nipped in the bud by the presence of well over 18,000 well armed troops and security forces throughout Ulster. Also by the large seizure of Catholic weapons. Not to mention by the split between the Catholic Interventionists, both in the North and in the South.

When, the next day, the present author spoke to one of the leaders of the Catholics of Belfast, the latter asserted that "the Orangemen did not massacre the defenceless Catholics of Belfast because the eyes of the world were on them during the procession". Yet when the author told him how, only a few hours before the procession was due to start, the most powerful time bomb ever found in Belfast, had been discovered under a spot where the procession was due to pass, he dismissed the episode as "Protestant slander". Had the bomb not been discovered in time, hundreds if not thousands of people might have been killed by it.

Paratroopers rushing towards Avro Manhattan as a sniper shoots from a side street

The above picture is blurred because of the dangerous circumstances in which it was taken. The author and a friend had gone to see "no man's land", where Protestant and Catholic areas meet in Belfast. Although it was Saturday, about 11 a.m., the streets were deserted. As the author was approaching an officer whom he wished to interview, the later urged him to "withdraw instantly" as they were "waiting for trouble".

Almost simultaneously, paratroopers rushed towards the author carrying their transparent shields. Before realising what was happening, a whistle was heard nearby. Notice the running paratrooper in the centre, looking in the direction of the sniper.

The friend photographer, who meanwhile had begun to retreat following the officer's warning, had just time to click the camera before having to withdraw with the greatest urgency from the scene.

The incident was later reported in the National News Bulletin.

The hyperbolic distortion of the statement was the more remarkable since the Catholic in question was not one of the humble Catholics to whom the author spoke in those days, but one of the leaders operating from the very seat of Catholic power, nowhere other than the Headquarters of the Belfast Central Citizens' Defence Committee, Falls Road.

It must be remembered that the head of this Defence Committee was the same Mr. J. Kelly put on trial only shortly before by the Dublin Government, with the two dismissed Cabinet Ministers, for illegal gun-running into Eire and Ulster, as mentioned earlier.

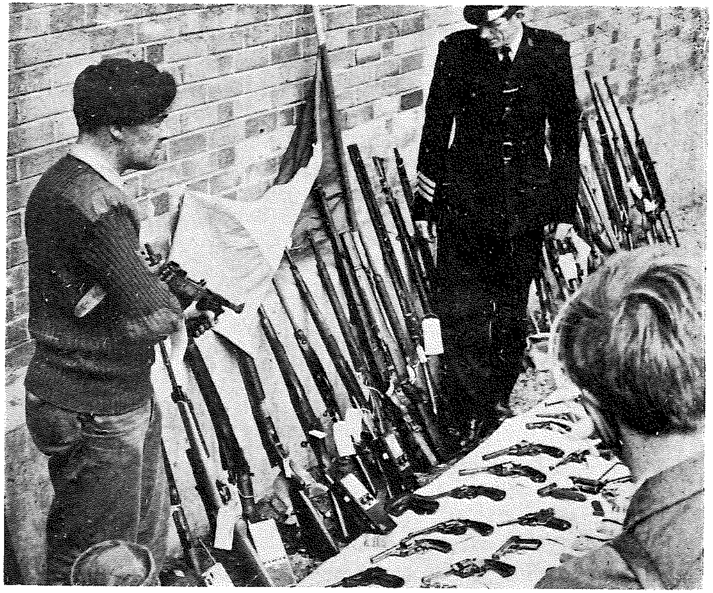
The huge haul of arms seized by the Security forces, which caused such bloody riots the previous week, had been discovered within the perimeter and in Catholic houses all around the Headquarters.

One of its Catholic leaders, who asked the present author to call him "Mr. Dolley", furthermore assured the author how the Belfast Catholics had always been and still were utterly "defenceless". To the author's query on how he squared that with the tons of weapons so recently seized nearby, "Mr. Dolley" replied that the Catholics "had only a few old broken guns". This must surely have been the greatest understatement of the 20th Century.

A padre with whom the author and a Swedish newsman had tea at the Headquarters of the Central Citizens' Defence Committee, when asked whether the Catholics in the area still had arms in spite of the great seizures, was more honest. After some hesitation he replied in a deliberate, matter of fact voice: "In great abundance".

The present author took the padre's words at their face value. Not so much because the padre obviously knew more about the true state of affairs than he cared to tell, but also because of the personal experience which the author had gone through only a few days before.

He had gone to the No-man's-land between the Protestant and Catholic zones on Saturday, the 11th July. Although it was about 11.30 a.m., the street was wholly deserted. Having approached an officer, he was ordered away, since they were "waiting for trouble at any moment now". There followed a shot. It came from a sniper on the Catholic side. The incident, although not serious, was indicative of the dangerous tension which existed in the town on the vigil of the



The first massive Arsenal of weapons seized by the Army from the Catholics after a whole year of Catholic "immunity"

When in 1969 Northern Ireland was occupied by 10,000 armed troops of the British Army, while all the Protestant areas were ruthlessly patrolled, searched and policed, the Catholic ones, following the Socialist Government's precise instructions, were left alone.

The result was that the Catholics set themselves above the civil and military authorities, enjoying an autonomy denied to everybody else. This permitted them to build up a steady and well regulated supply of weapons under the very nose of the military. The effect of this was soon to be seen. When during subsequent riots, rifles, guns, pistols and machine guns were used with increasing frequency by the Catholics, first against the Protestants and then against the Army itself.

After the Socialist Government fell, the Tories ordered the British Army to search all areas *impartially*. It was thus that in 1970 the Catholic "Free Belfast" zone was unexpectedly searched. The massive haul of weapons found in Catholic homes in this first search showed how justified were the suspicions that Catholics were hell bent on trouble.

In the picture, above, weapons seized in Catholic Houses of the Falls Area, Belfast. 3 and 4 July, 1970.

Grand Orange procession. One could sense the tension everywhere. It was certainly very high in the Headquarters of the Central Citizens' Defence Committee during that early afternoon of the 14th July. The Catholic leaders there were very courteous, although discreetly cautious, if not altogether suspicious. No wonder. Their chairman had just been before a Catholic Court in the Catholic Republic of the South. Another leader, Mr. J. Sullivan, whom originally the author and the Swedish newsman had gone to see, had fled across the Border, just in the nick of time before the sudden swoop of the British Security forces which led to the arms seizures. Dr. Hillery, the Catholic Minister for External Affairs, had just come and gone, after having been briefed on the true position in Belfast. And, although the great Orange procession was over, the expectation of Armageddon was still in the very Catholic air of the monastery.

There was certainly a sense of tacit frustration on the faces and demeanour of the Catholic padres there. Also on those of several tactiturn, hefty individuals hovering suspiciously though unobtrusively around us.

The Father who acted as the spokesman admitted also that the students at the local University, who in-the past had participated in the Civil Rights disturbances which led eventually to the riots "were still very active".

The active participation of Catholic padres in these violent activities, also the fact that the Headquarters of the Belfast Central Citizens' Defence Committee was housed in a monastery school, was highly significant. It incriminated the Catholic clergy without redemption. And, with the Catholic clergy, the Catholic Church. Since there had been other cases where the militant Catholics had used schools, even for armed activities. Witness the School of St. Joseph's, in Raglan Street, also in the Falls. A Belfast Riots Court shortly before had been told that the School had been used by snipers and that the British Army had to storm it before entering and arresting 28 Catholics, all of whom were accused of possessing explosives.

"Explosives were found in the School", the magistrate said, "and the Army reported sniping from the building. This is one of the gravest accusations which could be brought against any person, especially at this time. Although we have heard the school was being used as a first-aid centre, the Army had to assault it rather like a fortress". (1)

Mr. Dolley then accompanied the author and friend on a tour of the Catholic Falls. They visited Bombay Street, where 43 houses had been burned down by the "Protestant extremists". Also the new houses which the local Catholics had built "themselves" to show the Protestants and the City of Belfast "what we Catholics can do if we had our liberties".

The Catholic families housed there seemed to be decent, moderate people. No, they "did not hate the Protestants". In fact, before their houses were burned, they had lived at peace and in friendship with their Protestant neighbours.

Who, then, were those responsible for it all?

"Mr. Paisley," replied a housewife. The others nodded.

"Mr. Dolley's" pet hate, however, were the British troops patrolling the streets at the ready, finger upon the trigger. "We are treated worse than a nigger colony" he repeated. Posters depicting a British soldier standing over a fallen man were stuck in most Catholic windows. Underneath were the words: "Do not fraternize with the British thugs." The posters told the Catholics not to ask the troops into their houses, not to speak to them, not to offer them cups of tea, A far cry from the Summer before, when the Catholics asked for them and welcomed them as their liberators.

"The Protestants want to destroy us", Mr. Dolley went on repeating. "What about a United Ireland?" asked the author. "That's what we want", he replied. "It will come sooner than they expect." By "them" he meant the British Troops and, above all, the Protestants.

Before and after these encounters with the Catholics, the author had also met the Protestants. He went repeatedly with the Rev. Ian Paisley to sundry meetings, processions and assemblies. The most remarkable feature was that many of the moderates whom the author had met two years before now had "hardened up".

One of the most striking assemblies was that held in a field about 20 or 30 miles outside Belfast one Sunday evening. Paisley had the 8,000 or 10,000 under his spell. It was obvious they were all his firm supporters. Both in the religious and in the political arenas. They wanted a Protestant leader who stood uncompromisingly for a Protestant and a British Ulster.

Yet there was no odium against the Catholics as such. The people just did not wish to be absorbed into the Catholic Southern Irish Republic. That's all. In that they were adamant.

Thus the polarisation of the North versus the South and of the South versus the North basically became a matter of nationalism and even racialism. The issue was saturated with religious antagonism, because religious principles were involved.

The Ulstermen all wanted to stay Protestants. And British. They regarded the Catholics in their midst as disloyal Ulster citizens because they worked hand in hand with the Catholics from the South to bring about the total destruction of Ulster. The end of partition, the objective of most Catholics, North and South, meant the end of autonomous Protestant British Ulster.

The Protestants felt it their duty to defend their independence against whoever wanted to destroy it. Was that being anti-Catholic? they asked again and again.

The question was a pertinent one.

chapter 17

The Forthcoming Race War in Ireland

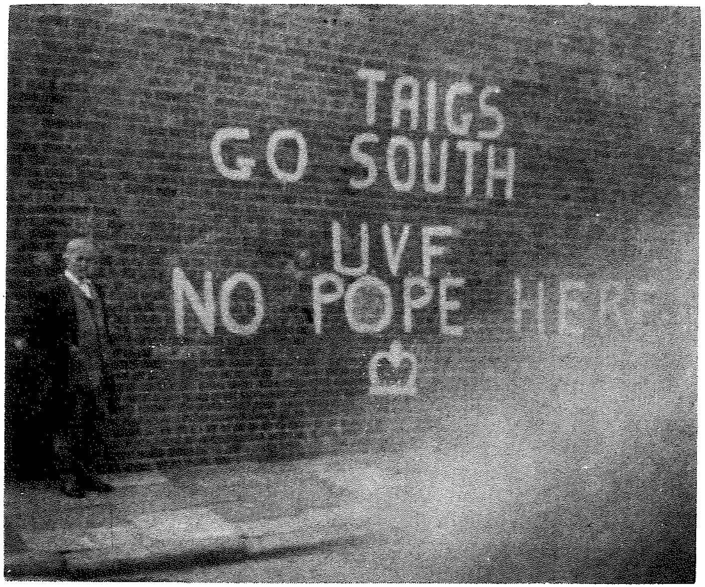
— *Mass repatriation of all Protestants*
— *The I.R.A. men from Ulster and Dublin*
— *The Catholic Professor and the list of Scottish names*
— *The writing on the wall:*
    "Thaigs go South"
    "Prods go back to Scotland"

A FREE, independent and United Ireland is the paramount objective of practically all Catholics, North and South.

Its implementation, however, will bring dangers of immense magnitude to all Irishmen, regardless of their religion. Since its completion will unleash forces which no one will be able to master.

The blessing or curse of a romantic but out-of-date nationalism until now has brought misery, tragedy, instability and unrest. Unless checked, it will bring ultimate destruction.

Equally, the blessing or curse of two hostile religious



The Writing on the Wall. Preliminary to the Forthcoming Racial War in Ireland

"Taigs go South." The words are ominous, not only of a war of religion, but also of a war of race. Their message: Catholics—or, rather, Celtic Catholics—go into the Celtic Catholic Republic of the South.

This was the Protestant reaction to large slogans similar to the above splattered upon the walls of many Catholic Houses in the Catholic area, which read, "Prods back to Scotland". Or "Prods go home". Which meant, Protestants—or, rather, Scottish Protestants—go whence you first came, i.e. across the waters.

Because of this the religious-nationalist polarisation of the Catholic Protestant conflict had assumed an additional sinister turn; racialism. Although not all the Catholics and Protestants expressed racialist sentiments, nevertheless a growing number on either side came to accept the identification of the Catholics with the Irish Celts and of the Protestants with the Scottish Celts or, even worse, with the English.

Above, the author in a Protestant street of Belfast. A group of Protestant women tried to prevent this picture from being taken.

credences, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, have caused the bloody polarisation of two vigorous sections of the Irish nation into mutual mistrust and perennial denominational antagonism. Religion, thus, having become the promoter of strife within a nation, has rendered the division more bitter and deep than it would have been without it.

The amalgamation of Ireland into one single unit would bring to the surface two additional destructive forces, the roles of which it is impossible to predict: racialism and idealogical war.

These would not be created by Unification as such. For the simple reason that they have existed already for a long time, both in the North and in the South. Until recently their presence has gone almost unnoticed amid the hue and cry of the Interventionists, of the Catholic-Protestant battles and the general politico-religious turmoil.

Yet these ominious forces, having lifted their ugly heads, are shaping the present and future policies of the Irish Nationalists, of the Catholic Republic of the South, of the Catholic Church in Ireland, and, indeed, even of the Protestants and Loyalists of the North.

Racialism is an ugly word. It is even more so as a sentiment. At present it is identified with the muted hostility of the coloured races versus the white, or vice versa, according to the prejudices of its denigrators or of its advocates. Yet racialism has existed, exists and will exist in Ireland for a long time to come. It is as intolerant, as unreasonable and as ferocious as that between the white and coloured peoples. Indeed, it is even more so. Since it is strengthened by religious zeal and nationalistic obduracy of a people notorious for its excesses in these two fields.

Underneath the sound and fury of the Catholic-Protestant war glimpses of subterranean racial odium have come ever more frequently to the surface, to kindle the fires of racial hatred.

The political-religious issues having held the field, this hidden racial factor has been hardly noticed. Or, indeed, it has seldom been gauged as one of the most serious factors of the unrest. Yet it is one of the most energetic contributors to the resistance of the Protestants. The latter refuse integration with the South, not only because of their religion, not only because of their loyalty to Britain, but equally because they suspect, and, indeed, know, that the Catholic Nationalists consider them as *"an alien race"* planted on Irish soil by foreigners, against the will of the *"true Irish."*

By "true Irish" is meant Catholic Celts, mainly in the South. And by "alien race" the Scots and the English, "planted" there mostly during the 17th and 18th centuries by sundry Protestant rulers. In other words, the Protestant settlers. Which in this context signifies all their descendants or practically the whole Protestant population of Northern Ireland.

The Southern Catholic antagonism against the Ulster Protestants, therefore, is not only politico-religious. It is also racial. This has manifested itself in various degrees in the abstract and practical formulation of the future policies of sundry nationalistic and Catholic groups.

These groups have a kind of blue print directed at the gradual but concrete disposal of most of the Protestants of Northern Ireland. The formula is boldly racialist. The fact that it is wrapped in a religious-political wrapper does not hide the brutal reality that basically it is inspired by genuine racialism.

To be sure, planned racialist programmes have never been encased in written formulae. But that they are already there, and that there are individuals and organisations ready to implement them at the first opportunity, is a fact known by many but openly discussed by few.

Although seldom mentioned, even during the bitterest exchanges between the Catholics and the Protestants, nevertheless it has been a most potent imponderable in the South-North Catholic-Protestant struggle. Its reality has created fear. It has hardened Protestant opinion. Thus rendering the possibility of a quid pro quo between the two hostile factions an impossibility.

The hidden blue print consists of a well thought out plan of "efficient riddance" of all "foreigners." "Foreigners" in this context mean all those who had come to live in Ireland "uninvited," 100, 200 or 300 years ago. That is the English and Scottish settlers who had been "planted" on Irish soil by Cromwell and his Protestant successors.

The prospect is a sombre one. And it is more so since nobody has ever dared to bring it honestly out into the open.

These Hitlerian-Stalinistic plans were ridiculed whenever mentioned as Protestant propaganda. The Civil Rights marchers were particularly scornful. Although some of their leaders proved to be its main advocates.

Notwithstanding that, however, the reality of such racialist sentiments came unobtrustively to the fore. It appeared here and there. However delicate and prudent the hints at it, these were frightening. Their supporters began even to express them in the national Press:

> "Great injustices were done to the Irish people . . . Is it not time for the British here . . . to withdraw to their homeland and leave the natives to run their own country?" asked one writer. "The imposition of Anglo-Scots rule (read of the Protestant Loyalists of Ulster) could never work," he added. (1)

Catholic Irish on the other side of the Atlantic reasoned likewise. "Is Mr. Manhattan unaware that the treaty of 1921 cut off the six Northern counties (Northern Ireland) when they were taken over by the British to satisfy the *many Scottish Protestants?*" asked the Irish American in response to the author's article in an American journal. "The trouble in Northern Ireland," explained the writer, "stems from the Ulster Plantation of the 1600's, when Scottish people . . . were 'planted' in the homeland of the Irish originals." (2)

Sundry letters were published also in the British gutter Press advocating the "repatriation" of the Anglo-Scots (read Protestants) of Northern Ireland.

Such opinions were whispered and approved equally in certain quarters by the Irish Nationalists, the I.R.A., and even unofficially in certain high level places in Dublin, London and Belfast.

The policy found an echo even in the London "Times," which proved that the plan was not an insubstantial figment of a Protestant imagination, but potentially a frightening prospect. Auberon Waugh, writing in that paper during the bloody riots of the summer , among other comments, had this to say:

> "There are still those who cherish the dream of a United Ireland, where the English and Scottish settlers of the North (Ulster) could remain if they wished, or could demand assisted repatriation to their country of origin, if they preferred. There were those, like Quintin Hogg

A touch of science fiction to tragic reality. Nightmare in in the street

The seriousness of the war between the Catholics and the Protestants, between the latter and the Army and between the former, too, and the troops necessitated the most sophisticated armoury. Rubber bullets which, when fired from a C.S. gas gun, snaked through crowds, injuring rioters, arrow heads, transparent riot shields, water cannon and similar devices. One of the most widespread weapons, however, was gas. Gas was most effective in dispersing riotous demonstrations. But very often it became double-edged weapon. Since the military were as vulnerable to its lethal effects as were those against whom it was employed. As a result of this, paratroopers on many occasions had to go to the attack wearing gas masks, protected by semi-transparent shields. When in action at night, with burning edifices, clouds of gas, running and shouting rioters accompanied by cracks of gunfire, the sight was one of a nightmare turned into concrete reality.

The picture above was taken during a riot, autumn-winter, 1970-1971, when hundreds of people on both sides were made to disperse, their eyes streaming, choking and coughing. The use of tear gas bombs to disperse rioters was questioned. Since it was claimed that gas had a long range delayed effect on children, elderly people and persons in poor health.

(Lord Chancellor Hailsham in the Conservative Government which went into power in June, 1970), who are on record as being prepared to fight rather than allow this to happen." (3)

If the Lord Chancellor of England was prepared to fight rather than allow this to happen the implication is that a wholesale repatriation of the descendants of the alien English-Scottish-Protestant settlers of Ulster by the Southern Catholics was a real, a concrete and a menacing possibility.

If this was to prove the potential of future racial programmes, that would be bad enough. But the present author had personal first-hand evidence of the reality of such schemes from the most authoritative sources.

The first time he came face to face with it was after meeting a top I.R.A. man in London. Initially he had been asked to have a debate on behalf of a broadcasting station on the Irish problem "with a gentleman from Ireland." He did so. After the debate, he and the "gentleman from Ireland " continued their exchange of views in private for the rest of the evening.

The gentleman was born within one of the hottest Catholic trouble spots of Northern Ireland. Not so long ago he had been interned by the British for four years. "Without trial," he said. He had a son in jail for "smuggling arms into Ulster." He was courteous, and honest. He had integrity. He quietly disclosed that he was one of the I.R.A. He had participated in the troubles of the fifties, and of fifty-five, when the I.R.A. had crossed the border, as we have seen elsewhere. And he was active *now*.

He wanted a United Ireland. But a Socialist Ireland. Also, an Ireland free of "foreigners." Some of them (the foreigners) had been taught a lesson. He was referring to the farms of the South owned by Germans, which had been set on fire the year before. "As for the *others*," he added several times with an ominous inflection to his very quiet voice, "they had better go home before we send them back."

On being asked who "the others" were, he replied: "You should know. . . your friends the Ulster Protestants."

"Ulster is their home, surely?"

"It is not. They are Scots and English. Planted there by Cromwell and his successors. They are not Irish."

The author's argument that many generations had been

Catholic-Republican fanaticism in action Easter Sunday, 1970

During Easter, 1970, the Catholic Republicans organised marches throughout Ulster, as a brazen provocation to the Protestants. They clamoured for union with the Catholic South and the destruction of Northern Ireland, insulting the Protestants, who wished to remain loyal to Great Britain. Trouble started when a procession of 3,000 Catholic marchers spotted a Union Jack flying from the main police station at Londonderry. Although supposedly citizens of the United Kingdom, they went into a frenzy at the sight. Drain grids were ripped, wooden hoardings and stones were hurled against the Union Jack. Then the Republican flag of Catholic Southern Ireland was hauled and hailed by the Catholic mob. At Lurgan, 1,500 Catholic Republicans clashed with the Protestants. The British Army had to intervene in sundry places. Petrol bombs and grenades were hurled. The I.R.A. announced that they would fight the British troops, indeed,that they would shoot a British soldier each time a civilian was killed by British bullets. Above, screaming Catholics hurling stones at the advancing British troops.

born in Ireland was not accepted. "They are Anglo-Scots on Irish soil," was his stubborn reply. "When Ireland is united, *they must go home.*"

"And if they don't?"

"We shall make it so hot that they will be happy to leave us," was his ultimate argument.

These statements were spoken in a very assured, tranquil tone of voice, following long pauses. The man always seemed to weigh every single word before speaking. I took his words with the utmost seriousness. Not only because of his obvious sincerity and conviction, but also because of the fact that only a few days later Scotland Yard began to seize large hauls of weapons hidden in London. These were destined for Northern Ireland.

It was the start of the arms search which was eventually to lead to the seizure of the formidable arsenals in the Catholic areas of Belfast.

Almost simultaneously the present writer met another top I.R.A. man. He differed from the first in so far that he came from Dublin. Also, that he was violently anti-Red. The theme of the Ulster Protestants was discussed. The same argument of repatriation was put forward. They were Scots and English. They were Protestants. Unless a Free State got rid of them, they would remain a "permanent source of trouble." Ireland had had too much trouble in the past to be able to afford the luxury of trouble makers in her midst in the future. The new united and free Ireland would need homogenity, not only political and religious, but also ethnical.

The emphasis of the Dublin I.R.A. man seemed to be religious. While advocating repatriation on the grounds of racial origins, he seemed to object most to the presence of the Scots on Irish soil, on the grounds that they "were Protestants because they were Scots."

The same ideas, though expressed with more subtlety, were put forward at the very Headquarters of the Central Citizens' Defence Committee in Belfast by "Mr. Dolley" already mentioned.

Mr. Dolly was an extremely intelligent individual. He knew his Irish history by heart. He gave the present author a good dose of it. He was concerned chiefly with the ownership, division and theft of Irish land, from early in the 11th century to the 20th. He spoke with mounting bitterness about the mass stealing of Irish land carried out by the English and Scottish "invaders."

In the Free State there were still "pockets" of land owned by the English. In the North, the whole problem was going to be settled "rationally" once the partition problem no longer existed.

How?

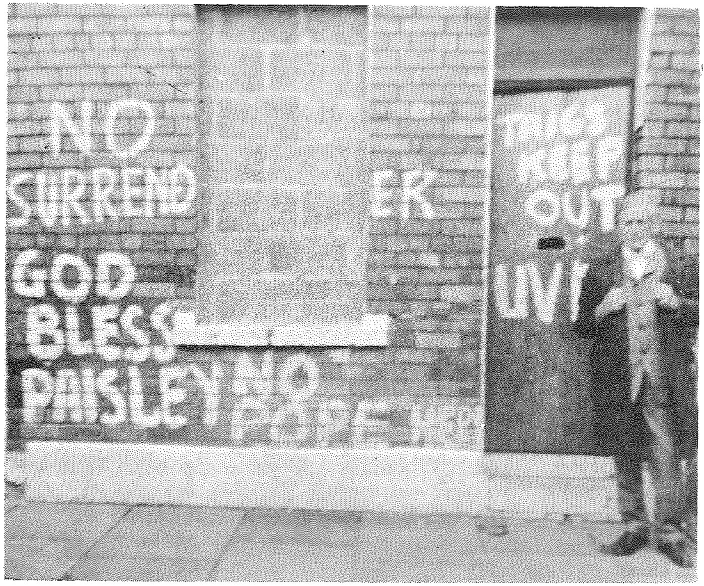
The solution put forward by Mr. Dolley was more sophisticated than the action men of the I.R.A. Although it could prove to be as efficient, if given the chance of a test. His theory was that the problem could be solved by a thorough redistribution of the land. "They" can take it or leave it, was his comment. "They" (the Anglo-Scots) "can stay if they wish to see our victory. But should they wish to go, we would assist them in going. As a matter of fact," he ended, "some of my students are at this moment compiling a list of Protestants with Scottish names. The list should be available soon."

Mr. Dolley, a lecturer, a writer and an expert on Irish history, would have told more, if it had not been for the cautionary look of Father M.

The implication of the "lists of Protestants with Scottish names," was obvious. But the gravity of the matter was not so much that similar feelings and schemes should have been entertained at the top. It was that the promotion of these policies from the highest level Catholic enclaves had come down to the streets. When talking to Catholics in the Falls area, the present author was struck by the frequent references to the Scots. This especially after the Great Orange Parade of the 13th July, when large contingents of Scottish Orangemen from Glasgow, Edinburgh and other cities had participated in it with energetic clannish zest. When not referred to as the "Scots," the Protestants were frequently referred to as "those Prods." "The Prods should go whence they came. They should go home."

These feelings were expressed on the walls of Catholic houses. "Prods go home. The Prods to Scotland."

The author once tried to take pictures of these slogans, whose letters, one foot or more high, looked prominent. But he was prevented from doing so by a couple of sullen men from a nearby public house.



Racialist Warnings on the Battered Doors of a Protestant House

The above house had been ransacked and battered by the Catholics during recent riots. The riots were crowned by the usual number of wounded, of burned out cars, houses and buildings. Shots had been fired from the Catholic and the Protestant sides, on the pattern of veritable street or guerilla warfare.

The standard Protestant slogan, "No Surrender", can be seen above. "God Bless Paisley", and "No Pope Here", became equally standard slogans in the 70's. The most telling words, however, are those written on the provisional door, "Taigs keep out". That is, Celtic or Southern Catholics keep out. The sectarian warning having been given an ominous racialist intonation with the word "Taigs". The letters U.V.F. signify Ulster Volunteer Force, the Protestant equivalent of the Catholic I.R.A. The house was uninhabited when this photo was taken with the author. Notice the walled-up window. The U.V.F. became the pet hate of the Catholics, since it had the reputation of being determined to defend Protestant Ulster with the same methods as those used by the Catholic Irish Republican Army.

That the Protestants were aware of these feelings was proved, not only by their references to the Catholics, but equally by their visible proof that they reciprocated the Celtic-Catholic feelings. Since many Protestant houses also bore large lettering: "Taigs go South," read one. "Taigs keep out," read others.

While the author was observing the walls with the first slogan, a group of Protestant women came angrily towards him and the photographer and tried to prevent the taking of a picture. "You will use this to make trouble," they said. As to who had painted these words, the women unanimously replied: "Children."

Although it was obvious even to the least informed that the work was that of professional painters.

But perhaps even they subconsciously and without realising it had become fearful of the far-reaching significance of those racial slogans on their walls. It was a tiny ray of hope for the future of fair Ireland.

chapter 18

The Forthcoming Class War in Ireland

- *Red against green Ireland*
- *The Marxist plan to destroy Catholic Dublin and Protestant Belfast*
- *Away with all foreigners !*
- *The Catholic Church and the Irish Revolutionaries*
- *The evangelical preacher in Dublin and the Dublin worker in Belfast*
- *The classic Catholic formula for the spiritual annihilation of all Protestants of Northern Ireland*

AS IF CONFLICTING NATIONALISM, religious animosity and racial prejudice were not sufficient, ideological passion had come simultaneously to the fore throughout Ireland.

Although almost undetected, it had been simmering in the shadows with accelerated vigour, preparing to do battle. This new peril held potentialities for disaster greater than all the others put together. It could become the most destructive element against the future stabilization and prosperity of the country.

The ferment of ideas concerning the economic and social

structure of Ireland did not leave the Irish society untouched. Although seemingly in stagnation during these last few decades, they had vigorously germinated underneath the placid surface of the Irish Free Republic, foreboding perils as yet not envisaged in many responsible quarters which should have known better.

The concrete ramifications of this ideological octopus had already pushed themselves to the surface, ominious portents for the establishment.

Without making a detailed analysis of the causes for the economic and social stagnation of Ireland since its partial independence more than half a century ago, suffice it to glance at one of its most energetic manifestations: the I.R.A.

It might be objected to that the I.R.A. is not representative of the thinking of the majority of Irishmen. Which may be correct. Also that being what it is it has nothing to do with ideological problems. Also that it is a tiny minority. Minorities, however, have always been more representative than the majorities as regards certain pertinent issues. Also, being the concrete expression of immediate passions, they are the most tangible evidence of the urges, divisions and frustrations current in the society in which they strive.

The I.R.A., as we have seen, is an extreme Nationalistic instrument of Irish patriotism. Its objective is the fulfilment of a Nationalistic dream: the total independence and unity of Ireland.

Yet, although obsessed by this, and although dedicating all its energies to guerilla, para-military and even military activities, it could not avoid being attacked by the ideological bacillae.

The non-political body of the I.R.A. as a result was not only greatly hampered in its uncomplicated military exercise, but was split asunder into three conflicting parts.

To take a para-military organisation as an example of the forthcoming ideological transformation might not seem justifiable. Yet, being an extreme, vocal and energetic sample of Irish nationalism and, furthermore, being mostly devoted to military objectives, it, perhaps more than any other institution, can tell the disturbing tale of the conflicting forces at present in dangerous ferment below the sound and fury of the Catholic-Protestant, Free State-Ulster conflagration.

Since, if a purely non-political body is split because of

Wounded by a woman's scorn. The endurance of British soldiers in religion torn Ulster

The task of the 14,500 British soldiers stationed in the cities of Ulster was one of the most unenviable ones. At first welcomed by the Catholics and unwelcomed by the Protestants, then welcomed by the latter and hated by the former, they were intermittently called "troops of occupation" and cordially hated as such.

The Catholics, who back in 1969–70 had asked for the troops to come to protect them, later regarded them as the supporters of "Protestant tyranny". The soldiers were insulted, wounded and even killed almost daily. Since they had strict instructions not to use their guns except in extreme circumstances, they had to suffer countless humiliations.

The picture above is a typical example of what a single individual had to put up with. The place was Londonderry, when about 1,000 Catholic women and children, many with babies in prams, went marching from the Catholic Bogside area, chanting "If you kill a British soldier, clap your hands".

This photo was taken at The Diamond, when a woman snatched a soldier's beret and tossed it to the crowd. A colonel on the scene was woman-handled, his uniform torn. The soldiers, expert at handling guns, stood frozen into immobility until the crowd dispersed.

ideological issues, its significance is portentous. It means that the ideological bacillae must also have attacked the more conventional, less vigorous sections of such society.

All the potentials for an ideological explosion, therefore, are there. An ideological explosion would spell a class war. That is, a struggle between a Conservative and a Socialist society.

The struggle might be a peaceful one. The probability, however, is that it would erupt into violence. Violence in this case would mean intercine war.

That the danger is real is proved by the fact that the I.R.A. is already thinking in terms of social revolution. In Ireland, revolutions are carried out not by the ballot but by the bullet.

The I.R.A. has been split right down the middle on this very issue. The monolithic simplicity of the past, when the only goal was independence and unity, has gone. During these last years the I.R.A. men have been planning what kind of Ireland there will be once their nationalistic objectives have been achieved.

One wing has envisaged a Conservative society, another a Socialist-Communist one. The first, the green I.R.A., wants an Ireland where the class structure will stay as it is, with the minimum change. The Red I.R.A., on the other hand, wants the country to be inspired by Marxism.

Both wings are already preparing to fight each other with the same methods with which they have fought the British, the Protestants and Partition; that is, with guns.

The most tragic significance of this is that they reflect the feeling, muted or otherwise, of large sections of Irish society.

The Irish Government itself has been deeply affected. The Red wing of the I.R.A. has allies among other extreme nationalistic organisations, the Sinn Fein and the like, which want a Red revolution on the pattern of Communist Fidel Castro's of Cuba. They want a radical change in the South and North alike. "Indeed," commented one of the Sinn Fein leaders in Dublin, "there is more jobbery and corruption here in the South than in the North." (1)

The green I.R.A. and supporting nationalistic elements, on the other hand, are determined to prevent Communism being planted in Ireland.

The bitterness of these ideological extremes was made clear to the present author by representatives of both sides. The I.R.A. man already mentioned, who spoke about the burned farms of the Germans in the Free State, had no doubt about what kind of Ireland he and his friends wanted. A Socialist-Communist nation.

"After we have finished with Ulster," he told the author, "we shall deal with Dublin. As a matter of fact," he added, "we should deal with Dublin even before we finish with the border."

At the query "Why?" the I.R.A. man had a precise explanation. "They in the Catholic Free State are reactionaries. We do not want an Ireland paralysed by foreign capitalists. All foreign capital must release its grip on us."

The President of Sinn Fein expressed similar views. "Only revolutionary tactics could break the British grip on Ireland, amounting to 40 per cent. of our economic production, distribution and service trade in the South, and over 75 per cent. in the North. (2)

The I.R.A. man from Dublin was equally determined to prevent the Reds from taking over. "We have not forgotten Franco," he told the author, "should the worst come to the worst. Meanwhile, we pray God that it won't."

Here there was already a future Ireland bitterly divided into two hostile factions. Ready to fight and to destroy one another.

To add to the confusion, there was the middle section. "Mr. Dolley," also already mentioned, when describing the future of Protestant Ulster to the present author in the headquarters of the Central Citizens' Defence Committee of Belfast, besides referring to the lists of Scottish names, referred to the redistribution of the land to all true Irishmen throughout United Ireland. This was going to be carried out on the ancient pattern of the old Irish family structures. Although Mr. Dolley had gone in to a prolonged and detailed explanation to the present author, the idea sounded like an amalgam of obsolete Celtic primitive agricultural farming, with a vague chimera of the naive home-spun doctrines of Ghandian memory.

Other voices representing extreme reformists spoke with very ominous revolutionary parlance.

Witness the United Irishman, organ of other extreme section of revolutionary Ireland: "Republicans," it wrote,

A new generation ready to do battle in the future

The "great divide" between Catholics and Protestants is not confined only to the present. It trespasses straight into the future. The link which binds the generation of today with that of tomorrow is real, concrete and ominous. The young adolescents and even children imbibe not only the religious credences of their fathers but equally their cultural traditions, racial prejudices, folklore legends and sectarian animosities.

The sights and experiences of years of denominational intolerance have conditioned the young of both sides to take for granted that the opposite religious faction is the "enemy." The actual physical fighting, even the mode of battling—as characterised by the troops holding shields—have not failed to leave their mark on the young minds, the most impressionable victims of the religious terror in Ireland.

In the above picture, youngsters holding dustbin covers in the guise of shields. Notice the large Union Jack. These children are the oncoming generation of Protestants, the British flag the external symbol of their Protestantism. This in contrast to the Catholic children, displaying the tricolour of the Catholic Free State of the South.

"should be availing of every opportunity to increase public awareness of the effects of British imperialism on their lives by pointing to the exploitation of the common people by native and foreign industrialists in search of cheap labour and big profits, by the belted Earls of the North living on their large estates behind their 'private fishing' notices, by Britain's Orange and Fianna Fail's Green Tory establishment." (3)

Even more extremist Reds are planning a super-Red Ireland. During demonstrations in London the author saw Marxist flags. One read: "International Marxist Group of Ireland." The demonstrators gave the Communist salute of clenched fist before Downing Street. The following words need no elucidation:

"The Republican Movement does not exist solely for the purpose of contesting elections: its job is to engage the mass of the people in the struggle for economic, social, cultural and political freedom. This is an everyday activity that must continue until the Irish people have won the battle to establish the Irish Socialist Republic of Pearse and Connolly." (3)

Where did the Catholic Church stand in all this?

As in the case of the Partition, the Catholic Church will become a source and a cause of irritation. Indeed, she will help to aggravate the conflict between the opposing parties, to her own advantage.

The I.R.A. man in London, when asked about his position in regard to the Church, replied: "I am a Socialist first, and Irishman second, and a Catholic third."

The I.R.A. man in Dublin, however, put it the other way. "I am a Catholic first, a Conservative second, and an Irishman third."

"Mr. Dolley," on the other hand, made it clear that he was an Irishman first, a Catholic second, and a land reformist third.

Since each individual was representing the ideological pattern of thousands throughout Ireland, it is obvious that all the elements of a forthcoming war are present, and, indeed, are already at work.

Ideological enmity, when buttressed by religious dogmatism, becomes intractible. Ireland has never been light-hearted when dealing with the Church. Marxism is humourless. A humourless Marxism and a humourless Catholic

Church will create a war of brutality. When promoted by the latent Irish extremism, such a war could surpass all the savagery of recent civil wars.

The Catholic Church, if her past is indicative of her future behaviour, will side with the Conservative establishment. As she did with Franco's Spain. Her support of what the extreme left call "reaction" will exasperate the revolutionary forces, with the result that their struggle will degenerate into political viciousness. This in its turn will crystallise reciprocal antagonism. Until finally the ideological war will turn into a chronic cancer, the deadly corroder of the body politic of a Free and United Ireland.

In such a Free Ireland, freedom would be increasingly reduced by the predominance of the monopoly of the Catholic Church. In such a United Ireland, disunity of minds would make the country disintegrate into ferocious factions between which problems will be solved with the gun. In such an Ireland, freedom would be a meaningless word. Since the heavy hand of the Church would reach everywhere and everyone. Above and behind any high-sounding constitution or laws or regulations.

It is at work in the present. And everyone who has eyes to see well knows the devious ways it works.

The Irish Free Republic is saturated with the spirit of the Church. Its government acts within her writ. The Irish establishment never goes against her edicts. Not only in ethical matters, but equally in social and even economic ones. All Irish institutions are Catholic agencies. Groups and individuals act as her most active agents. Her politicians speak like her spokesmen. Irish diplomats never hide the fact that they use diplomacy for the Church first and for Ireland second. Although they are happier when they can act simultaneously for both.

When any country is infiltrated with Catholicism, liberties are mere mockeries of the real thing. Certainly freedom of speech can be found written in the constitution of the Republic. Even freedom of religious worship. There are instances when these are permitted. But there are far more when they are not. Most of these anti-libertarian instances are seldom mentioned. Some pass unnoticed. Others, again, are not worth recording. Even when ominous.

A minuscular episode witnessed by the present writer is

"How can you shoot when the enemy is aged eight?"

These words were uttered by a British Army officer after a boy aged eight tossed a bomb against an armoured vehicle in Belfast during the escalating violence in August, 1971.

By this time the violence had reached such ferocity that the I.R.A. and their supporters did not hesitate to send children into the fight. Before October, 1971 children had been confined to jeering, insulting and hurling stones at the troops or, whenever possible, at the Protestants. A task which they carried out enthusiastically whenever the opportunity arose.

After that, however, they were deliberately used "as missile launchers". The first authenticated case happened in Belfast on 10th October, when nail bombs were thrown by two small boys, aged eight, against an armoured car. The two boys came out from the crowd in the market area and tossed their bombs as expertly as old veterans.

One of the bombs rolled under the patrolling vehicle and exploded. The soldiers, although shaken, held their fire, even although one of the boys went forward to pick up the unexploded bomb. "Anyone throwing a nail bomb is liable to be shot", commented an officer. "But how can you shoot when the enemy is an eight-year-old boy?"

To such depths had the Ulster civil war sunk. In the picture above, children fighting during the riots in Belfast.

typical of this state of affairs. One early summer evening, while in Dublin, having noticed a small crowd off O'Connell Street at the junction with Abbey Street, he joined it out of mere curiosity. Many of the bystanders were heckling a speaker, a small, humble and patient individual busily explaining some obscure passage from the Bible. The preacher was constantly interrupted. Shouts made his voice inaudible. Finally, the crowd began to chant: "We don't want Protestants here. Clear off. If we need preaching, we want one of our priests to do it for us. Clear off." The man finally packed up his movable organ and went away, to the delight of most of the bystanders.

It was a very sad spectacle. Since the crowd seemed a cross-section of the Dublin population, composed of otherwise courteous and civilised people. (4)

Multiply this by the thousand, and freedom of speech will become, to say the least, dead.

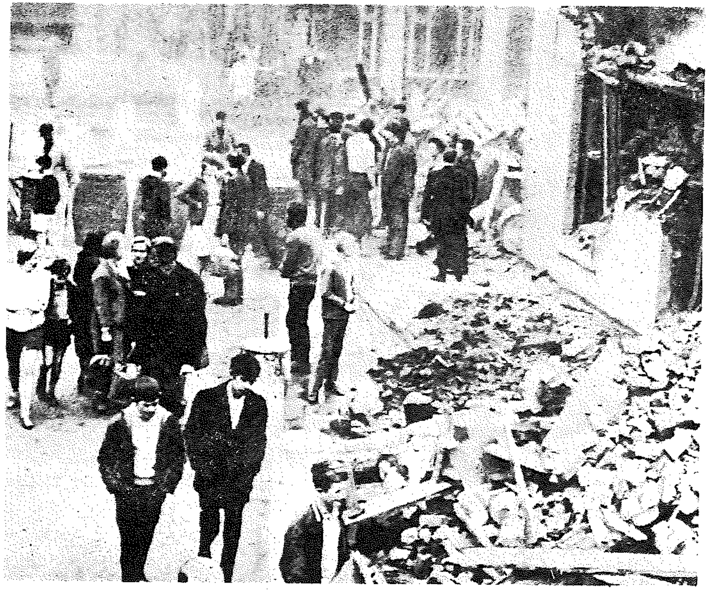
Another tiny episode was equally telling.

A Protestant resident in Dublin told the present author how he had been dismissed from the job he had held for many years because, having gone to Northern Ireland, he had walked with an Orange procession. His employer had recognised him on a TV news reel. Thereupon, after profuse apologies, he had sacked him. He could not, he explained, "compromise" his business "with the others." Whether he meant the priests, the Nationalists or somebody else was not clear. The man, after telling this, begged the present writer not to mention his name, lest he be "compromised."

Once more, multiply this case by the thousand, and discrimination will become an accepted pattern of life.

This is not abstract speculation. It has potential concreteness. Since the Catholic nationalists of the Free Republic have directed all their energies to the absorption of Northern Ireland in the South. That is, at the *forcible* incorporation of all Protestants into a Catholic land where the Catholic Church dictates the mode, rule and way of conduct of every individual and institution. Including the government.

Were that to occur, what would be the treatment meted out to the Protestants? The same treatment, multiplied by the thousand, as was meted out to the little preacher off Connolly Street and to the worker dismissed because he dared to march in a non-Catholic procession.



The street which religious hatred destroyed

The scene could be in a bombed city after an air raid. It is not. Since it is in a street which was partly destroyed by crowds of Catholics and Protestants fighting each other with a ferocity reminiscent of by-gone centuries.

Smoke is still leaking from the rubble, the barricades are also half standing across the street. Many buildings, however, are not. Several have been demolished with high explosives, others were deliberately set on fire, others were used as provisional trenches for the gun-firing snipers.

Groups of bewildered people are gathering on the corners, observing the scene of desolation early the morning after.

The religious whirlwind passed near and around William Street, Londonderry, with the same violence as a tropical hurricane. It came, destroyed and went as suddenly. Except that the religious hatred which provoked it remained as virulent as ever in the hearts of its promoters. Such hatred, far from diminishing, became the cause for additional destruction—like the above—beside wounding and killing the following years.

The mere fact that Catholic Ireland is determined to incorporate the Protestant population of Ulster *against their expressed will* is the most blatant proof that the Catholic Free State—and, behind it, its mentor, the Catholic Church, DO NOT believe in freedom or, even less, in self-determination.

This cannot be otherwise. Since the basic attitude of the Catholic Church has been, is and will always remain the same. Freedom for herself to exist, to expand and to destroy others when not in a Catholic land. Extinction of freedom to non-Catholics when these are in a Catholic society.

Put in a nutshell, the formula is simplicity itself.

"When we Catholics are in a minority (as in Northern Ireland) we demand freedom in the name of YOUR principles. When we Catholics are in a majority (as in the Irish Free State) WE DENY your freedom in the name of OUR principles."

A more ominous formula indicating the sinister implications of any potential reunion could hardly be found.

chapter 19

The Tacit Participation of the Catholic Church in the Irish War of Religion

— *Her active silence and her silent participation*
— *No Catholic condemnation of terrorism*
— *Bombs in the House of Commons*
— *Rift between the Catholic Church and Irish Nationalism*
— *The Irish Republic tries to build a bridge with the North*
— *The Catholic Church as the most dangerous obstacle to the social reformation of the Irish*

SILENCE CAN be more significant than the most deafening clamour. It can be more telling than a peroration echoing to the heavens.

From the very beginning of the Irish war of religion, the policy of the Catholic Church was one of silence. Yet, although seemingly relegated to the background, she was omnipresent and, even more ominous, sinisterly active. Since no move was ever made by the Catholics on either side of the Border without her knowledge, approval and even participation.

Indeed, basically she was one of the main advocates, if not the main advocate of the disturbances. Hence her careful avoidance of clear public condemnation of the mounting acts of terrorism carried out by her "Irish children," some of whose outrages any religious authority claiming to be the repository of morality should have condemned, irrespective of the religious or political causes that motivated them.

Except for rare platitudinous inanities, repeated almost word for word by the Communists and Fascists alike when employing brute force, the better to mask their true policies, her voice was never heard to thunder clearly, loudly and unequivocally against the ghastly deeds of Catholic terrorism.

On the contrary, the Pope more than once poured oil on the denominational flames by openly supporting the Catholics of the North "for equal rights," complaining of the "harsh repression" they suffered, and calling for a solution "based on justice" (that is, the forcible incorporation of the Protestants into the Catholic Free Republic of the South. (1)

The Irish Hierarchy followed in the papal footsteps by indirect action. In the circumstances, the most effective means of helping "their cause." One typical quotation from the Press should suffice to illustrate this.

> "Four hundred women and children who fled from Belfast at the weekend to an Irish Army camp at Gormanstown, Co. Meath, had a surprise visitor last night.
>
> "Cardinal William Conway, Primate of all Ireland, chatted with the refugees as they showed him their makeshift homes." (2)

The propaganda value of such visits by the Cardinal was invaluable. The refugee issue was a well-planned Catholic publicity stunt (there were no Protestant ones), since besides putting on the world map the picture of the "innocent Catholic" fleeing from Protestant terror, it gave the problem a semi-official status and therefore news value for the Catholic cause.

The Cardinal, his Bishops and clergy, on the other hand, never went amid the Catholic petrol bomb throwers or I.R.A. men hurling hand grenades or setting buildings on fire, to tell them to use more peaceful and Christian methods.

Without referring to the policy of escalating riots, which we have already examined, the policy of intimidation against individuals and institutions via terror was also carried out with the tacit approval of the Catholic Church. This was proved by the concrete fact that she always kept silent when one of such instances occurred. For example, the spectacular acts of intimidation carried out by Catholics against Protestant personalities.

Thus Catholic terrorists hurled bombs against the private residence of a Northern Ireland High Court Judge, Lord Justice Curran, because Lord Curran was one of the three judges who rejected the appeal of the Catholic Miss Bernadette Devlin against a sentence of six months in jail for her part in the riots of the previous year. When, however, the same Lord Curran acted likewise and rejected the appeal of a Protestant, Mr. Spence, condemned to a twenty year jail sentence, the Protestants did not hurl bombs against the judge's public or private residence. They acted with the utmost legality to obtain a new trial, as we have already seen.

Furthermore, when the Protestant leader, the Rev. Ian Paisley, was also sentenced to six months' imprisonment by a *Catholic* judge, none of the Catholic leaders had their homes, their families or their children threatened by Protestant explosives.

Hand grenades were also hurled against the private residences of the Rev. Martin Smith, Grand Master of the Grand Orange Lodge of Belfast, not to mention other Protestant personalities, many of whom had high explosives planted in their homes. (3)

Catholic terrorists went even further. They set out to terrorise the body politic of the nation.

One of the most spectacular outrages was that perpetrated against the British Parliament itself in mid-summer, 1970. A Catholic hurled two gas bombs into the floor of a packed House of Commons, then in full session. The session had to be suspended, to the dismay of its members and of the whole nation. No similar outrage had been committed since 1812. The Catholic terrorists a few days later publicly promised more bombs to come, in their determination to force the body politic of Great Britain to bend to their demands. (4)

Subsequently, similar and even worse outrages were committed in Ireland, North and South, as well as outside Ireland, with grievious losses of life and limb. We shall not ennumerate them, to avoid repetition. Suffice it to say that not one single authoritative voice from the Catholic Church came to the fore in *unequivocal condemnation*. The saying of Christ, "those who live by the sword shall die by the sword," having been conveniently forgotten for the sake of the "cause."

To the Catholic Church, "the cause" meant, not so much the aspirations of Irish nationalism, but the promotion of her own interests in the wake of national extremism.

For decades the two, that is the Church and Nationalism, had become identified. Indeed, they seemed to be inseparable. It was almost inconceivable to consider the former without the latter, and vice versa. From the initiation of the religious-civil war of the seventies onwards, the two associates, Roman Catholicism and Irish Nationalism, worked together for the promotion of the collapse of Protestant Ulster. Their precise objective Ulster; forcible incorporation into a United Catholic Ireland.

After the initial stages in 1968, 1969 and 1970, when the excuse for the disorders was the demand for social justice and economic redressment, their true inspirer came ever more boldly to the fore: Irish Nationalism.

From the seventies onwards, the advocacy of North-South integration became respectable. Politicians, having thrown to the wind their traditional caution, spoke without any more equivocation about Irish Unity. The great objective for which all the extremist forces had worked from the very beginning, at last had become the official policy of the Catholic Free Republic itself.

A far cry from the claims of the Civil Rights demonstrators who had helped to start the religious civil war by showing themselves so unashamedly to the world as the innocent victims of a ruthless Protestant society determined to keep them second class citizens.

Members of Parliament in Eire, Ulster and even London spoke quite overtly about Irish unification. One Parliamentarian in Northern Ireland going so far as to parade before the Protestants, displaying a Republican tricolour, at his re-election. (5)

Even funerals were used provocatively to display Republicanism by covering the bier in a tricolour flag in a Protestant province. E.g. in August, 1970, after a Catholic youth, caught in the act of hurling a petrol bomb against the Army during a riot started by the Catholics, was shot dead by a paratrooper. (6)

The even bolder demands for unification eventually were heard from Cabinet Ministers in Dublin and Catholic Peers in the House of Lords, not to mention the House of Commons. The very Prime Minister of the Republic himself came openly to the fore, proclaiming in unequivocal terms the Republic's determination to unite Ireland: that is, to carry out the annihilation of Ulster. This meant that the Irish Republic, which already regarded Ulster, as it had always done, as an integral part of itself, now was making ready to administer it from Dublin.

This even before the incorporation of the province had taken place.

That such was the policy was proved by the fact that at this period the Premier set up, officially, a preliminary administrative and political machinery to implement it, i.e. the creation of an "Eagle Eye" department in Dublin. This was concerned with Northern Ireland. The unit comprised senior representatives of the departments of Taoiseach, External Affairs and Finance.

The result of all this was that the idea of Union became accepted as a fact of political life, within and outside Ireland.

While unofficial extremist nationalistic forces whose policies were inspired by the promotion of total civil war, continued to work unabated, the official voice of the Republic started to use words of reason. Indeed, to the surprise of many it even spoke with words of appeasement to the Protestant North. The Catholic Irish Premier went so far as to envisage a United Ireland where "all the traditions and religions would come together to build a new Irish society." He went even further by stating that a United Ireland, although Catholic, "would give equality to every citizen in civil, religious and political rights, and would remove fears, hatred and dangers of bloodshed." (7)

These sentiments were certainly worthy of consideration. As no doubt many Catholic leaders of the South meant to keep such promises. The gulf between abstraction and reality, however, remained as deep as ever. Since behind the men who expressed such thoughts, perhaps sincerely, there was the Catholic Church who controlled not only their religious beliefs but also their political power.

The conflict between the Church and the Government of Southern Ireland during the Ulster-South crisis had taken a dangerous turn. Sooner or later it had to come into the open. This, in the eyes of the Catholic Church, was very alarming.

The Republic had begun to see unification mainly in an orthodox nationalistic light, unhampered by the ties of the Church, who, until then, basically had controlled all Southern thinking, emotions, strategy and politics. The rift, if permitted to widen, would have deprived the Catholic Church of her main objective: that is, the extension of her paramountcy throughout the coming United Ireland.

The Church was determined to achieve this at all costs. Since her total support of Irish nationalism, official and unofficial, was inspired by just that.

Some of the Dublin rulers claimed with reason that the Protestant majority in the North had hardened their resistance because they were afraid of the attitude of the Church. They had to be mollified. The best way to do this was by assuring them of basic civil and religious liberties. If such assurances were given with the voice of the Republic, they would carry weight.

A liberal group went even further and began to tread on very perilous ground as far as their relationship with the Church was concerned. They put forward policies to make divorce "permissible." An unheard of, daring step. This, so as to make the acceptance of a United Irish Republic place both in the South and in the North.

These measures made the rift between Irish Nationalism and the Church visible. The first cracks in the monolithic Church-State alliance during the crisis at last had come to the surface. They continued to widen throughout 1970 and 1971, during the recurrent crisis that followed.

The ire of the Catholic Church was undisguised. Her discomfort great. The Church-State crisis rumbled within the inner corridor of the politico-ecclesiastical cabala, notwithstanding the subsequent political changes which took place both in the South and in the North.

Some Nationalists, however, remained undismayed. Those of the Left, while cautious, did not hide their wish for a potential showdown with the Church. Not to please the Protestants, to be sure. But to pave the way for a Socialist United Ireland.

Even the right wing action men of the I.R.A., already referred to, told the author that if they could "persuade" the Church to become more liberal in certain basic issues, like divorce, education, mixed marriages, etc., the relationship between the North and the South would be rendered much easier. One I.R.A. man to the Left admitted that one day they might have to "force" the Church to become more liberal.

As the disturbance escalated into civil war, the Church continued to support the Catholics and Nationalists within and outside Ulster.

After Belfast finally decided upon interning I.R.A. leaders, she came out boldly into the open. Thus on the 16th August, 1971, Cardinal Conway, the Catholic Primate of all Ireland, openly condemned the measures taken against the Catholic urban guerrillas. A few days later, on the 19th August, 30 leading Catholics resigned from public life in Londonderry, to support the Cardinal. On the 22nd, Catholics set up a public enquiry, "about Ulster's brutality against I.R.A. men." Finally, while many of the streets of Belfast were burning, bombs were blowing up public edifices, and innocent people were being killed in the city by I.R.A. bullets, the Pope himself came to the fore, to the deep embarrassment of London. It might have been a coincidence, but he spoke in the same week as the death of a young girl in Belfast brought the toll of people shot in the streets to 100 dead.

"Does not organised murder justify repressive measures?" thundered the London "Daily Telegraph". "Then why does the Pope condemn Ulster's policy of internment?"

The Vatican, the Irish Hierarchy and the clergy, however, stood stubbornly behind the promoters of the Irish civil war, as they had always done. It could not be otherwise. Since the sombre reality was that the destiny of Ireland had always been, is and will continue to be deeply influenced by Ireland's paramount force, the Catholic Church.

chapter 20

Escalating Terror of Doomsday Year

— *Political manifestos versus gun policy*
— *IRA self-executioners*
— *Hardening of the Protestant Front*
— *Horror weapons: the nail, ammonia and acid bombs*
— *Appearance of the "child terrorist"*
— *The "near toddlers" join the I.R.A.*
— *Mini-terrorists in action.*

ONCE, when the present autnor was conversing with the Lord Chancellor of England (1), the latter related an episode which, its triviality notwithstanding, indicated to what an inextricable degree religion permeates Irish thinking.

In the summer of 1970 there was due to take place in Ulster a trial of extreme import, dealing with multiple murders, arms smuggling and the like. Owing to the tense political situation, the British Government exerted the utmost caution in the appointment of the officials who were to deal with the matter. The problem was referred to the Lord Chancellor. His task: the choice of an English High Court Judge acceptable both to the Catholics and to the Protestants.

The Lord Chancellor solved the denominational peril by appointing a well known agnostic. Upon landing on Irish soil he was asked at once the inevitable question:

"Judge, which side are you on? With the Catholics or with the Protestants?"

"I don't side with any denomination."

"What is your religion?"

"None. I am an Agnostic."

"What kind of an agnostic. A Catholic Agnostic or a Protestant Agnostic?"

Such absurdities can happen only in Ireland. As was the trial itself. One of the most lengthy and complex on record, involving over two thousand persons, mostly witnesses.

Television aerials as well had political and religious significance. Thus, while most Protestants had the B.B.C. "H" shaped aerial with which to tune into London, most of the Catholics could be detected from the spiky long jobs with which they tuned into the Telefish Aireann from Dublin.

1970 closed with 50 innocent civilians and 90 soldiers severely wounded, hundreds of injured, and 15 brutally murdered. The army had seized 10 machine guns, 81 rifles, 103 pistols, 5,000 lb. of explosives and 48,000 rounds of ammunition. More than 150 major bomb booby traps and other forms of explosive devices had been set off by terrorist groups, including the biggest bomb explosion on record: about 50 lbs. of gelignite.

Bomb explosions had increased from 19 in 1969 to 178 in 1970. Whereas during the previous four years (1965-69) there had been 875 attacks on policemen, within the single year of 1970 there were 1,021.

The escalation continued throughout 1971, when Ulster celebrated the 50th year of her separate existence. The Nationalists called it Doomesday Year—and vowed that 1971 would be Ulster's last year of separation and the first of her incorporation into the rest of Ireland. Doomsday Year came to the fore with violence and despair. Riots, murders, burning and killing punctuated it. The evaluation of terror was dramatically altered. What only recently would have been considered a major riot now became a casual trouble. E.g. when the police were pelted with no less than three acid and forty-two petrol bombs, the event was officially classified as "a small sporadic skirmish." The same as when eight policemen and ten soldiers were wounded. Some riots lasted for consecutive nights. In March, April, May and June explosions, executions and killings multiplied and accelerated alarmingly. Ulster tottered with dramatic political crises. The British Government became bitterly stultified. The I.R.A. mobilised, as did the British armed forces. Dublin was more than ever at the ready. Doomsday Year had become true to its name.

Simultaneously, Catholic and Protestant polarisation broke down. The I.R.A. split into two antagonistic wings. This occurred initially in the riotous 1969. The I.R.A. then, as already described, was carrying out a campaign of political and social manifestos as a substitute for the "gun policy" which had failed the previous decade. During the summer riots of 1969 the Catholic Falls Road remained comparatively safe. This was attributed to the I.R.A. guns which had protected it. Some I.R.A. men thought they had learned a valuable lesson. Namely, that a "gun policy" yielded greater, concrete and quicker results than the policy promoted until then. The split became factual. Thus, whereas the I.R.A. "Regulars" insisted upon pursuing their political strategy, the others, "the Provisionals" (the name for the Provisional Army Council of the I.R.A. officially formed in August, 1970), set out upon the promotion of active armed confrontation. By the end of 1970 reprisals took place. On the 2nd November, the chief of the official I.R.A., Cathal Goulding, was shot at in Dublin. The attempted assassination was followed soon afterwards by the killing on the 16th November of two dissident I.R.A. men in Belfast. By the spring summer of 1971 "punitive expeditions" and reciprocal executions became a regular occurrence. The I.R.A. intercine war predicted in this book began to resemble a Chicago style gang warfare, with shooting, machine-gunning, "official executions" and "counter executions." The two I.R.A. wings condemned each other's members for real or imaginary charges, and carried out reciprocal executions in the streets of Belfast even in broad daylight.

The case of T. Cahill was typical. Thomas Cahill, 37 years old, was shot on the morning of March 9, 1971, in his delivery van in the I.R.A. controlled Ballymurphy area of Belfast, in the presence of playing children. The shooting came twelve hours after another shooting incident in which

Wounded rioting schoolgirl is carried to an ambulance

The participation of young women in the religious riots added a new dimension to the intensity of the struggle between Catholics and Protestants. Women, besides helping the rioters behind the scenes, eventually came defiantly out into the open. On occasions, they wore I.R.A. uniforms at funerals, insulted the troops, hurled stones and bottles against the police. The most obnoxious feature of their participation, however, was that very often they were accompanied by children, e.g. Catholic women, carrying hurling sticks and wearing the black berets and combat jackets of the I.R.A. "uniform", took part in demonstrations and funerals.

They organised marches, insulted the troops. For example, during an army search they would stop the searches with a barrage of dustbins. And on one occasion Catholic mothers set up an unprecedented barrier against the soldiers, composed of prams with babies in them (see text).

Schoolgirls participated in actual riots and were even wounded. Above, a young girl wounded in a riot in Belfast in 1971. Three other youngsters were badly injured by machine-gun fire on the same occasion. Teenagers were also killled, either by accident or, more often, when participating in the riots.

The horror of the "Child Terrorist" or Mini-Terrorist in action

The ultimate limit of the Ulster war, during Doomsday Year, was the appearance of the child terrorist, known as the "Terror Tot".

The Terror Tots first appeared during the vicious riots of 1971, when they began actively to participate in the actual fighting. More often than not they actually initiated the riots by taunting and attacking the troops, using weapons like stones, glass and petrol bombs.

They organised themselves into gangs, composed of children of under 14 years of age. Some gangs, however, were composed of Terror Tots aged eight. While participating in the actual riots, they hurled the most obscene insults at the soldiers, such as "How is your Mum's V.D." The Government threatened the parents with the Law. The Press, which on the whole had been sympathetic with the I.R.A., at the sight of the infant terrorists became incensed. "The cowardly brutality of the latest Belfast outrages rouses at once both compassion and anger. Compassion for the children who have become the victims of civil strife; anger at those who have wantonly placed them in peril.

"That such things can happen in the streets of one of the U.K.'s cities is a monstrous disgrace," thundered a national paper.

one man was "executed" and two others badly injured, in another I.R.A. controlled zone, Falls Road.

The climax arrived when the bitter blood feud between the two I.R.A. wings threatened to turn into an I.R.A. blood bath in Ulster itself. The official I.R.A. ordered the "activation" of a standing "contingency plan" for the "execution" —that is, the assassination, of eleven prominent Provisionals.

The latter prepared to respond in kind. However, the Provisionals and the Regulars arranged a "truce", due chiefly to some Catholic padres, some of whom the author had met personally the previous year.

Having agreed upon the "truce", the Regulars sent off search parties at once to stop their "execution" squads. They reached ten of them in the nick of time. The eleventh, however, did not get the new orders and they ambushed Thomas Cahill, a local Provisional leader, as described above. (2)

By then Scotland Yard had sent special murder squad detectives to Northern Ireland to track down the multiplying assassinations. They uncovered the fact that within a few months no less than 29 members of the I.R.A. had died in I.R.A. gun law executions, in killings and revenge killings (3), and the number of executions reached the fifties by the summer.

The I.R.A. policy of executions was nothing new. The I.R.A. had "executed" people from its inception. One of the most celebrated examples was given by Tom Barry, who commanded the most famous I.R.A. Unit, the Cork No. 3 Brigade, which fought against the English in the Anglo-Irish war of 1919-1921.

Barry and his followers employed tactics which were later used by the German General Staff, as well as by the I.R.A. (4) in Ulster.

According to *The Times,* Tom Barry, who resigned from the I.R.A. in 1939 as a revered Commandant General, "personally admitted to 40 to 50 'executions.'" (5)

Despite sundry "truces" and attempts at unity, the executions and counter-executions multiplied with the intensification of the Ulster campaign. The most foreboding significance for the future, however, was not so much that the I.R.A. split had been generated by diversity of strategies and policies. It portended something even more calamitous: namely, the shape of the ideological warfare to come, destined to bring additional disasters to the Irish nation, North and South.

Fragmentation, however, was taking place simultaneously on the Protestant front. Although not so dramatically. While the majority supported the Ulster administration, corroding groups gnawed at its entrails. The Orange Order, the most traditional representative organ of Loyalist Ulster, for instance, became increasingly hampered by lack of cooperation from certain vociferous groups of myopic politicians or demagogic clergymen. When some of these were propelled to Parliament, their presence proved double-edged, owing chiefly to their lack of perspicacity. In the background, armed "volunteers" made ready against attacks from the I.R.A., from the Eire Republic, and also against any Ulster administration betraying "the cause."

The demand for a "tougher policy" against the I.R.A. became threatening. Mass demonstrations become almost irresistible, after the culmination of the I.R.A.'s spring campaign, characterised by exceptional viciousness. Destructive riots turned the province into a vast area of collective fear, rapid economic deterioration and impending political anarchy.

No week-end passed without the burning of buildings, factories or stores, the maiming or killing of people. The I.R.A. attacked civilians, the police and the British Army with increasing boldness.

The climax came when on 10th March three young British soldiers were "executed" by terrorists, shot through the head outside Belfast. Before that, three others had died: the first killed by machine-gun fire on 6th February, another shot in the head in Belfast two days later, and on the 1st March the third had been killed in a bomb ambush. Simultaneously, two policemen were killed by gunfire.

The gravity of the situation can be judged by the fact that during the previous two years—that is, since 1969—only three policemen had been killed: one shot and two blown up by a booby trap in August, 1970, as seen in one of our photos.

Additional outrageous killings roused public opinion, e.g. when five men, in their B.B.C. maintenance unit, were blown up by a mine trap packed with 15 lbs. of explosive.

The shootings, murder, assassinations, explosions and riots multiplied as the year advanced. Meanwhile, one particularly sinister phenomenon gave a new dimension to the oncoming "civil war." The appearance of the *child terrorist*. This had been preceded by horror weapons like nail bombs, acid bombs, gelignite bombs, ammonia bombs, and similar devices, including arrows. The child terrorist, however, seemed to be the culmination of the horrendous campaign.

Children began to participate in the prolonged riots. Not only teenagers, like the two boys and two girls under fourteen who were wounded by machine-gun fire on the 10th February, or the schoolboy of thirteen who had his hand cut to pieces when a gelignite bomb he was hurling at the police blew up. Many were literally toddlers, and many between the ages of seven and eight. Incredible as it may sound, some of these children had been sworn in as members of the junior wing of the I.R.A. (6)

The fanatical determination of certain groups of the I.R.A. at this period, far from averting such excesses, gloried in their promotion. To that effect, schoolchildren were pushed into the front line. This sinister development was first initiated in Belfast, during a four-night riotous violence in which at least five people died. More than a quarter of the 149 persons arrested were children. Since then, the tiny terrorists, besides being used as messenger boys for I.R.A. officers, were also used to spark off full scale street battles. This they did by baiting and provoking troops—e.g. when they threw bricks and stones at the Coldstream Guardsmen in Londonderry. In Belfast, girls tossed lethal missiles, while eight-year-old boys hurled petrol bombs at the troops. (7)

Gangs of these infant terrorists were sent regularly into combat, armed with stones and bricks and insulting their opponents by using the most obscene language. It became a regular feature of subsequent riots for teenagers and younger children to be among the arrested, the wounded and even the dead. As the terror campaign increased, these battalions of infant veterans became increasingly familiar with the use of sophisticated terror weapons. Impartial witnesses observed eight-year-old terrorists throwing phials of acid at soldiers. (7)

These gangs, characterised by a near toddler with a petrol bomb in his hand and an obscene curse on his lips—"How is your Mum's VD?" (8) — became known as the "mini 1971 terrorists". The Government threatened the parents with prosecution in vain. The outcry in Ireland and in England left unmoved those who mobilised these armies of tots. The British Press thundered in horror: "That such things can happen in the streets of one of the major cities of the United Kingdom is a monstrous disgrace". (9)

And yet the moral climate had deteriorated to such an extent that children of youngest age were identifying themselves with their parents and their parents' hatred. Children aged four and five, in fact, spent their time in play groups building barriers, pretending to shoot and throw petrol bombs, as reported by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. (10) To such depths had the religious war of Ireland been made to sink.

After observing shouting gangs of roaming mini-terrorists in action, one saddened reporter expressed his, and that of many others, dejection as follows:

> "If Ulster has such problems in 1971, God knows what it is going to be like in 1981, when these kids have grown up." (11)

The tersest and gloomiest summing-up of the appalling appearance of the child terriorist, the horrifying result of the irresistible religious hate escalation of the Irish Civil War.

In the autumn, an additional 1,700 soldiers joined the 13,500 already protecting Ulster cities with the deadly weapons of an army at war. Notwithstanding this, however, the destruction and killing increased. By October, 1971, for instance, horrifying hauls of explosives totalling 1,780 lbs. of gelignite, had been discovered, 1,138 lbs. of which had come direct from the Irish Republic. Thus, while the I.R.A. escalated their operations and the political situation became chaotic, the Protestants banded themselves into "vigilantes", armed commandos, and dare-devil groups to counteract the I.R.A's activities.

In this manner, the winter of 1971 brought to the fore two illegal sectarian armies ready to fight to the death, regardless of the armies of Great Britain and Eire, also there at the ready for The Day.

The Generation of Tomorrow
— Protestant toddler waving the Union Jack

He is no more than three years old. Yet he is already waving the Union Jack. Although he can hardly stand upon his feet, he is participating in one of the many traditional religious-political demonstrations held by his seniors.

The toddler above, in fact, was photographed at a major Orange Order Parade in Belfast, which the present author went to observe.

Teenagers and school children were present by the thousands, as they have been at countless similar demonstrations throughout Northern Ireland. Among them toddlers like this one. Indeed, there were children even younger than him. Infants nestling in their prams and watching the marchers, propped in their mothers' arms.

The children participated in such political demonstrations in all innocence. Yet the faith, tradition and determination of their fathers, thanks to this early participation, became as integral a part of their religious and patriotic make-up as the air they breathed.

The Generation of Tomorrow
A gang of Catholic toddler terrorists, jeering and cursing

The "terror kids" had become part and parcel of the religious war of Ireland. A war which had escalated—or, rather, had come down to the ruthless use of young people, schoolchildren and indeed infants like those above. Many of the children who the year before had been playing with dustbins, in imitation of the grown-ups, now were fighting a real, bloody and horrendous war.

The "terror kids" had gone to the front lines to prepare another night of terror in which their elders would fight, would kill and be killed.

"There were twelve of them, most about eight . . . . they chuckled and shouted obsceneties . . . . " Bottles by the score smashed onto the roads, and then fragments of heavy stones which some could hardly lift, but which they managed to throw a few feet through plate glass windows.

"That was when their big brothers and fathers took over. And that is when the killing started . . . . "

The above is the description of a hardened reporter at the beginning of one of those murderous riots which defaced Ulster during Doomsday Year. The sowing of the wind for the forthcoming harvest of devastating whirlwind in the years to come.

chapter 21

The shape of Things to Come — Hopes and Fears

- — *The armed tips of the Catholic and Protestant icebergs.*
- — *Secret armies at the ready.*
- — *First "planned" betrayal of Ulster.*
- — *The Protestants prepare.*
- — *The fall of a government.*
- — *Anti-Ulster animosity.*
- — *Orange, I.R.A. and "Christian love".*
- — *The Cardinal's complain.*
- — *The "spectre" and the "reality" of direct rule.*

AT THE HEIGHT of the "civil war" of 1971 the British House of Commons was informed how "in the last twelve months something approaching 40,000 rounds of ammunition, plus *282 different* types of weapons had been found" during searches for illegal weapons in Northern Ireland (1). And that was only one of the numberless disclosures of hidden arms.

Almost simultaneously the Northern Ireland and British Governments were asked "to call in the 70,000 licenced guns in Ulster." (2).

The formidable arsenal of illegal weapons, including machine guns, mortars, rockets and the like, mostly held by Catholics, and the no less formidable one of licenced guns —75,000 in the summer—mostly held by Protestants, were but the concrete pointers to two invisible, submerged icebergs drifting irresistibly towards a mighty civil conflagration.

This represented the visible tips of two secret armies, determined to fight to the finish. The Catholic one, to see that the first half century of Ulster's separate existence which coincided with Doomsday Year should be the last; the Protestant one to make sure that they would enter the second half of the century in safety.

The concreteness of their reality made the danger of a savage civil war even more perilous. For they could drag into it the national armies of Britain and Eire. This they could do because, being autonomous, they could act independently of the three governments concerned. And since their motivation was chiefly denominational, they could move totally outside any political or even strategical considerations. Furthermore, they were unknown imponderables. No one could gauge their potentialities in men, weapons or leadership. The only certainty about them was that each secret army could launch into the streets well armed fanatical contingents. That they disposed of vast arsenals was proved by the continual discovery of ever larger quantities of weapons on both sides. That they had discipline was attested by the "execution" of some of their own members. That they were inspired by religious and nationalistic fanaticism was demonstrated by their ferocity.

Acts of daredevil defiance multiplied. Gun running increased. The "no go lands" became real fortresses. Violence turned savage and widespread. Women participated. Youth battled. And even children took part.

The growing sense of helplessness and hopelessness in no time pervaded the whole province. From top to bottom. To dispel it, it was decided to organise Expo 1971—promptly dubbed Explo 1971. A prophecy. The Catholics said it was a provocation against them. The crude reality, however, was a desperate attempt to help Ulster's crippled economy. The cost of the 1969-70 riots had run into millions. That for 1970-71 was even greater. Compensation for criminal injuries alone cost £2,108,000. The housing of riot victims

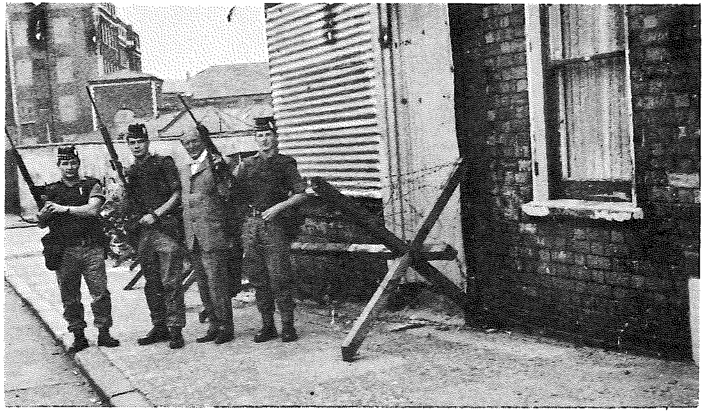
£700,000. £610,000 was spent to re-establish half-ruined industries. Total cost for one single year: £5,500,000 or over —14 million dollars.

The set I.R.A. policy of economic destruction was a success. It continued unabated. Fire devices were planted in stores, factories and docks. For example, those that burned down a 12 yard timber yard in the Belfast docks in February, 1971, causing the loss of over four million dollars at one single blow.

Ulster's present looked bleak. Her future even more so. The oncoming prospect spelled disaster. Unless bettered, it would mean ruin for the 1971-75 development programme. The ecomonic deterioration of Doomsday Year matched the political. Since the growing anarchy and the I.R.A. paramilitary activities had stepped successfully into the "urban guerrilla" tactics.

Deaths no longer aggrieved. Civilians shot became part of a grim escalating routine. As did the blowing up of combatants and buildings by mines and dynamite. The British Army, which had come originally at the request of the Catholics, now were the latter's target. The I.R.A. pledged: "two British soldiers for every one Irishman killed." Threats that were carried out. The murder of three young Scotsmen, already mentioned, precipitated a political crisis. It so strained the already tottering relationship between Belfast and London that it brought about the downfall of the moderate Chichester Clark administration.

The government of Mr. Faulkner, which followed, was openly reckoned the last before direct rule. Ulstermen became despondent. The prospect of having their Parliament abolished and of being dictated to by London was seen as a disaster. They felt that their independence now, when they were celebrating their first fifty years of it, was being threatened, not only by the I.R.A. and by Eire, but also by Britain. The bulk of Protestants hardened. They clamoured that the British Army should crush the Republican Catholic terrorists. The latter seemed unperturbed. Protected by their sanctuaries of "no-go lands", by the Catholic population, and by certain sections of Eire across the border, they went on escalating their "urban guerrilla" campaign, sup-



The Author meets a British patrol after a flare-up during the Irish "Civil War" of 1971

The use of the words "civil war", which had always been frowned upon, in 1971 became the apt image of a grim, stark reality. The religious and political hostility of North and South, of Catholics and Protestants, had turned into a veritable, real and embittered civil strife. The tragic reality was supported by deadly facts.

During one single twenty-four hour period the total was more than 200 nail bombs, petrol bombs and hand grenades in the Leesold Street area plus 36 hand grenades thrown at British troops within forty-eight hours. Ten thousand rounds of ammunition were also found in houses in the area.

The ferocity of this civil struggle went on escalating. To give another typical example: one Belfast milkman was gunned down in broad daylight; twelve hours before another man was killed and two badly wounded; the next day three British soldiers were "executed" by I.R.A. secret execution squads, also in Belfast. Three more soldiers had been killed not long before, one by machine-gun, the second by pistol, the third in a bomb ambush.

The escalation brought Ulster nearer to the abyss than ever before, when celebrating its half-century of "independence."

ported by the active participation of vigorous elements within and outside Ulster.

Although arrest and internment, with or without trial, tough legal and security measures and the like brought momentary lulls, Ulster's capital continued to be pockmarked by secret I.R.A. fortresses where "the Queen's writ" did not run. Demands for their effective suppression were resisted by the Conservative Government of Britain. With the result that the latter soon became as unpopular as the previous Labour administration.

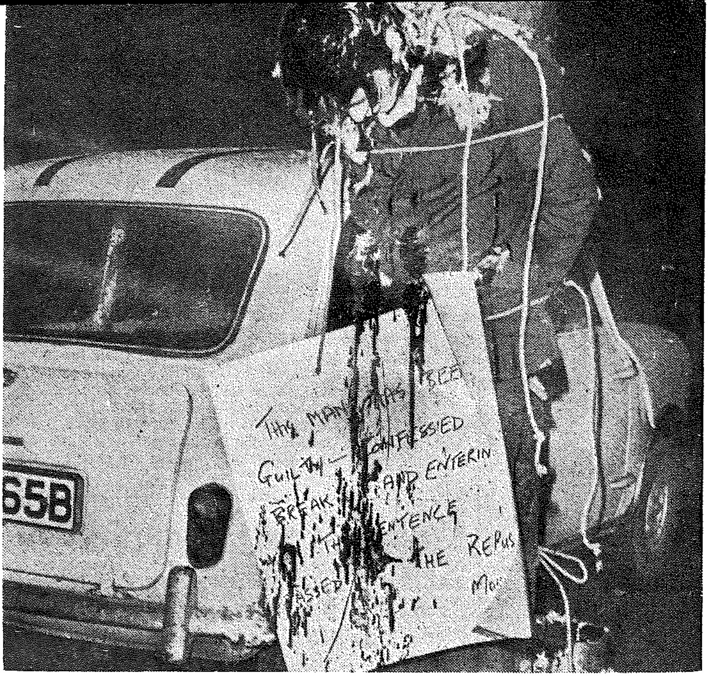
The Tory's new policy provoked a further dangerous hardening of Protestant belligerency. Protestant armed resistance, which had stayed vigilantly in the background, now was put "at the ready." The spirit of 1921-22, when the armed resistance of Ulster had brought into being a separate Northern Ireland, now was revived once more with a vengeance.

The Protestant equivalent of the Irish Republican Army, formed for just such an emergency, prepared to spring into battle. No longer with tacit resignation. But with guns. The Protestant battalions, such as the Ulster Volunteers and similar organisations, were no Boy Scout Clubs. They had been formed to defend Ulster's threatened existence. Against the I.R.A. and the Irish Republic. But also against Britain herself. Should the latter betray them.

The unspoken, deep-felt uneasiness turned into sullen despondency. The planned British betrayal during the second world war was remembered. Premier Winston Churchill, in fact, early in 1940, had offered Catholic Dublin the chance to incorporate Protestant Ulster into the Irish Republic if the latter joined the allies. This was done without the knowledge of the Protestants of Ulster. The cold-blooded betrayal was made public by official Cabinet papers released for the first time only in 1970. (3)

The disturbing feeling that Britain might somehow think of betraying Ulster once again accelerated Protestant "extremism." And the Protestant loyalists decided that the best guarantors of their independence were ultimately Protestant guns. As, back in 1921-22. When Ulster was born.

Thanks to this the dialogue of the deaf between Protestant Belfast and Catholic Dublin, from then onwards became also the dialogue of the deaf between Ulster and Britain.



Medieval terror revived. Tarred and feathered victims

The man seen above, after having been tied to a lamp-post in a Belfast street, was tarred and feathered. Many others, mostly youths, were forced to undergo the same humiliating punishment. The I.R.A. announced that certain offenders would be "punished" by such methods after trial "by a secret court". Those found guilty by such "underground courts", whose judges had their heads covered with sacks to hide their identity, were stripped to the waist and smeared with boiling tar and poultry feathers. After which they were chained and padlocked to the city's railings, many in the Catholic Falls Road.

This was one of the lighter sentences passed against some of their supporters for breaches of discipline. The most serious offences were punished with the death penalty.

Tarring and feathering was a statutory punishment passed by Richard Coeur de Lion as early as 1189. "Any robber voyaging with the Crusades," he decreed, "shall be first shaved, then boiling pitch shall be poured on his head and a cushion of feathers shook over it." The custom was revived from time to time. In 1623, for instance, the Bishop of Halverstade ordered the punishment to be applied to a group "of lascivious nuns and friars". In the American colonies John Malcomb was tarred and feathered in Boston around 1774. In 1775 British soldiers did the same to a "rebel" of New England. Later, in 1794, twenty Government agents were tarred during the Pennsylvania Whiskey Rebellion.

The Protestant's despondency was justified. Anti-Ulster animosity had been monolithic and widespread. At all levels. The treatment of this book was typical. Leading bookshops rejected it because it explained the Protestant case, while simultaneously promoting dozens of pro-Catholic works. Radio and television behaved likewise. The B.B.C. TV programme, Twenty-four Hours, was willing to discuss it provided the name of the book was *never* mentioned. The discussion was cancelled. (4)

Yet shortly afterwards two I.R.A. men appeared on the same TV screen. They boasted that "their I.R.A. units" in Belfast were well armed. (5)

Thereafter the Catholic Primate of All Ireland, Cardinal Conway, was seen on the TV screen pleading the Catholic Cause. (6)

That was not all. The very leader of the Irish Republic Army, Mr. G. Goulding, openly declared war on Protestant Ulster, also from a British TV screen. (7)

Not a single national paper touched this book. The record went to the *New Statesman.* Its editor was a former Labour Lord Privy Counsel and ex-Cabinet Minister. In a feature article about the present author, this book, although criticised, was mentioned *not once.* (8)

To redress the balance, a member of the Ulster and Westminster Parliaments, on his first official visit to the Home Secretary in Whitehall, put two copies of *Religious Terror in Ireland* on his desk, with the admonition: "If you wish to know the truth about Ulster, please read this book." (9)

Political and religious personalities remained obstinately biased. When the present writer tried to bring them together he was faced with a blank wall. Witness the case of Michael Foot, one of the most intelligent of British intellectuals. At the time, besides being the most vocal spokesman of the British Labour Party, he was also the Shadow Cabinet Minister of Power:

> "House of Commons.
>
> Dear Avro:
>
> Thank you for your letter which I read with wry amusement. I really don't think there is any point in my meeting Paisley since I don't think there is the slightest chance of our reaching any most distant accord on the subject. Indeed, I think he is one of the obstacles to a

Ancient Tribal Ritual at Victim's Funeral

Hurling sticks carried at the slope by mourners during the funeral of an Irish Republician Army "martyr".

Funerals very often turned into fratricidal and sectarian frays during which Catholics as well as Protestants provoked or attacked each other.

Above, during the funeral of an I.R.A. man shot dead by the British army in Belfast, I.R.A. men defiantly carried hurling sticks. This incensed the Protestants, who stormed the hearse, opened the back door and took a tricolor from the coffin of the victim. I.R.A. men wearing battle-dress, black berets and black armbands jumped from cars in the funeral procession and made for the Protestants.

On the same afternoon at the funeral of another shot I.R.A. man twelve I.R.A. men in combat jackets, wearing berets and black armbands, fired a volley of shots over the coffin as a salute to the "gallant volunteer." This provoked the Protestants, who waved Ulster flags and Union Jacks, singing Orange songs and "God Save the Queen".

The funeral procession was preceded by about 100 young men armed with hurling sticks.

The I.R.A. uniforms caused bitter resentment amongst the Protestants, who accused the Ulster Administration of political cowardice. It proved an additional factor for the downfall of Premier Chichester-Clark, during the disastrous political turmoil, which earmarked the celebration of the 50th anniversary of Northern Ireland's secession.

decent settlement in Ireland. However, I send you my best wishes for some of your other campaigns. . . . ." etc.

While in the Central Lobby of the House of Commons the present author was told by Mr. Hume, M.P., the Catholic Civil Rights leader, that he refused to share the same platform with the Protestants. The Rev. Paisley, on the other hand, refused to meet Dr. Hillery, the Eire's Minister for External Affairs, at a public meeting which the author was organising at the Ulster Hall, Belfast, where the hostile Catholic and Protestant leaders could propose any potential solution before a live audience of thousands, in addition to the millions of TV viewers.

Those invited were: For the Catholics Dr. Hillery, the Minister for External Affairs of the Irish Republic, Lord Longford, foremost lay Catholic of England and Ireland and ex-leader of the House of Lords, Mr. St. John Stevas, Member of the House of Commons, Mr. Hume, M.P., leader of the Civil Rights Movement. The Rev. Ian Paisley, Mr. W. Craig, former Ulster Cabinet Minister, and one Orange leader for the Protestants and Loyalists.

Put into a nutshell, the matters to be discussed ran as follows:

> "If it was wrong for a Protestant majority to 'bully' a Catholic minority—e.g. Protestant Ulster—it was no less wrong for a Catholic majority—e.g. Catholic Eire—to 'bully' a Protestant minority into submission, had Northern Ireland been forcibly incorporated into the Irish Republic." (10)

The deep-rooted antagonism on both sides, however, proved insurmountable.

The tragedy was the more poignant because the vast majority of the population were decent, reasonable individuals. Protestants, even the most strict in their faith, did not hate the Catholics. Ulstermen, likewise, did not hate the citizens of Eire. The top leaders of the Orange Order, the very embodiment of Protestant Ulster, assured the present writer of this. On reverse, top leaders of the Irish Republican Army: "After all," as one of them was never tired of repeating, "we are all Irishmen."

"Then why fight them?"

"As long as the Protestants of Ulster *deny* that they are Irishmen we shall," was the reply. "However, let them help

us to rid the Irish soil of the British and we shall embrace them as our brothers."

To the question whether the Catholic Church thought likewise, they gave no reply. One of the I.R.A. leaders, intimate with both wings of the I.R.A., with certain members of the Eire Government, and who furthermore was the political co-ordinator of the one million Irishmen living in Britain, frowned with incertitude. As a practising Catholic it hurt him to acknowledge that his Church did not share his enthusiasm. Also, that the I.R.A.'s schemes for a peaceful, united Ireland, where Catholics and Protestants would live in harmony, was bound to flounder upon the imponderable behaviour of his Church.

* * *

When, therefore, the Roman Catholic Primate of all Ireland, Cardinal Conway, after reading this book, protested that the Irish Hierarchy had been falsely accused and that "the charge that his Church had failed to give a firm lead in condemning and controlling Catholic extremists was absurd," (11) he unwillingly proved the validity of the accusation by the fact that he had to say so at the height of a horrendous terror campaign which had outraged public opinion, including the Catholic. When furthermore he added that "anyone deliberately provoking violence in Northern Ireland committed a crime which cried to heaven," (11) the Protestants of Ulster were not impressed. Nor were the men of the I.R.A., most of whom had been in the closest contact with the Irish clergy from the beginning.

It could not be otherwise. Since the Catholic Church, having always acted as a very energetic, even if unobtrusive participant, had been one of the paramount creators of the spiritual division of Ireland. The Border, therefore, had become not only a geographical barrier. Thanks to her, it had become also a religious Border. Formidable, monolithic, and impassable.

* * *

With the Faulkner administration—Ulster's third in less than two years—and the political and military upheaval which followed, the religious war propelled Ulster at an ever accelerated speed towards the abyss.

The nationalistic and denominational tangle turned into a deadly maze for all concerned. Since it spelt not only total involvement of the British Government in the Irish imbroglio. But also total involvement of the British Army in an all-out guerrilla warfare with the I.R.A., with the I.R.A.'s counterpart, the invisible Protestant secret battalions, in addition to the inevitable confrontation with the Army of the Irish Republic itself. In short, total military and civil conflagration in a tribal anarchy of a sorely divided Ireland.

With the "spectre" and the "reality" of "Direct Rule", the hardening of hearts on both sides continued. The political and sectarian situation deteriorated even further. So that when, on the 10th August, 1971, over 300 I.R.A. men were interned, violence became so fierce that Premier Faulkner declared, "— we are truly at war". That same night in Belfast alone, 11 civilians were shot dead, including two women, a boy and a Catholic priest. Hundreds were injured. Chaos grew by leaps and bounds. There were daily bomb explosions. Urgent tripartite talks between the British, Ulster and Eire Premiers, proved fruitless.

Protestants organised themselves into well armed, tough groups. Protestants from Scotland, and the U.S.A. volunteered to fight for them. The same kind of help, however, was offered to the Catholics and to the I.R.A. on a vaster scale, at home and abroad. The religious conflict was threatening to engulf forces outside Ulster itself.

Subsequently while arrests continued, outrages against people and property multiplied, the border roads were blown up or sealed off, the accelerating economic collapse, escalated into a hopeless political anarchy. This plunged the province into an even more tragic abyss of violence. Fanatical extremist elements in the Catholic and Protestant fields, operated with a greater determination to create a pattern of violence more destructive even than previously.

chapter 22

The Greatest Imponderable of Ireland: The Catholic Church

- — *The Catholic Church's ruthless exploitation of Catholic minorities*
- — *Classic examples from the recent past*
- — *The Pope orders the Catholic Hierarchy of Germany NOT to oppose or harm the Nazi Regime. A precedent for Ireland*
- — *How the Catholic Church could COMMAND the Irish Hierarchy to stop their support and their tacit promotion of violence*
- — *Why the Catholic Church refuses to do so*
- — *What motivates the Catholic Church to foster a religious civil war in Ireland*

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH cannot and will not tolerate a form of Protestantism which refuses to be destroyed. Hence Northern Ireland has to her always been anathema, an aberration to be stamped out, cost what it may. And this, not so much because she has always considered her an intolerable presence in the religious body of a Catholic country as because a permanently vigorous Ulster might become a beacon for the disintegrating Protestantism of the world.

The Catholic Church, it must never be forgotten, while active in local matters and spending much of her energies on the promotion of her interests and those of her allies, always keeps her eyes fixed on wider horizons.

It cannot be otherwise. Since she is used to thinking in terms of centuries and of continents.

Her participation in the religious and nationalistic war of Ireland, therefore, while paramount in itself and for the Irish, to her is only another episode in her never ending activities to expand her spiritual dominion over men and nations.

The case of the Irish Catholics turned nationalists, or, rather, of the Irish nationalists using Catholicism to achieve their objective, therefore, is nothing new. It is a well known universal intangible of the Catholic minorities. It being a double-edged weapon which their Church has used again and again on many occasions, now and in the recent past. It cannot be otherwise, since Catholics, when acting as citizens with special privileges, special demands and special rights are dangerous. Indeed, they become treacherous. For their allegiance is to be found, not within but outside the country of which they are citizens. The Nazis and the Communists used to destroy the lands they wanted to occupy by using exactly the same methods. That is, minority groups, which, like the Catholics of Northern Ireland, clamoured for Civil Rights, for social justice, for economic redressment, in order to create civil discontent and thus bring about the collapse of the State, so as to implant the rule of another government or of another ideology from outside.

This pattern, used by the Catholic Church throughout the centuries, was adopted with tremendous success in recent times by systems built like her own: that is, by the dictatorships of the Right and those of the Left.

Hitler employed it in his takeover of Czechoslovakia, where the leader of the Catholic minority was a Catholic priest, Mgr. Tiso. In Sudetenland, where the leader of the Catholic minority was the leader of the Catholic Party. In Austria, where, again, the Nazi leader was also one of the leaders of the Austrian Catholics. In Yugoslavia, where the leader of the Catholic minority was A. Pavelich—as well as

The blood-stained face of a Catholic

The face is that of a Catholic. But, like the other one, it might have been that of a Protestant. The man was wounded during the deployment of violence caused by religious and political belligerency. The resort to physical violence to settle differences, particularly religious ones, is the hallmark of failure. Also, and above all, of bigotry. Bigotry has caused more misery, unhappiness and disaster throughout the annals of mankind, than perhaps anything else.

In Northern Ireland it has followed its ancient pattern, rendering the division between the two religious and racial communities deeper and more bitter than it would otherwise have been. The tragedy was the sadder, since a sizeable part of the Catholic and Protestant population basically was tolerant of the other's religious beliefs and political allegiances, including the nationalistic aspirations of most Catholics, who looked for the annexation of Northern Ireland by the Southern Irish Republic.

As with the Protestants, of whom hundreds were wounded and even killed, so also with the Catholics, hundreds were wounded and many killed, the tragic harvest of mutual religious intolerance.

in other countries. Stalin and his Communist successors likewise invaded and subdued European and Asian countries by the same insidious methods. By the use of minorities imbued with the Communist ideology. Instead of Catholicism, such minorities adopted the quasi-religion of Marxism. Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria were all seized via this ancient, well proven pattern of internal disruption by active minorities.

In Northern Ireland, too, it worked with efficiency. There the Catholic Church, acting behind the scenes, manipulated the Catholics with great dexterity. Using the nationalistic screen of the Southern Irish Republic, she co-ordinated their political agitation and demand for social redressment with the Catholic majority of the South. The Irish Hierarchy of Ulster and Eire serving as the invisible liaison officers.

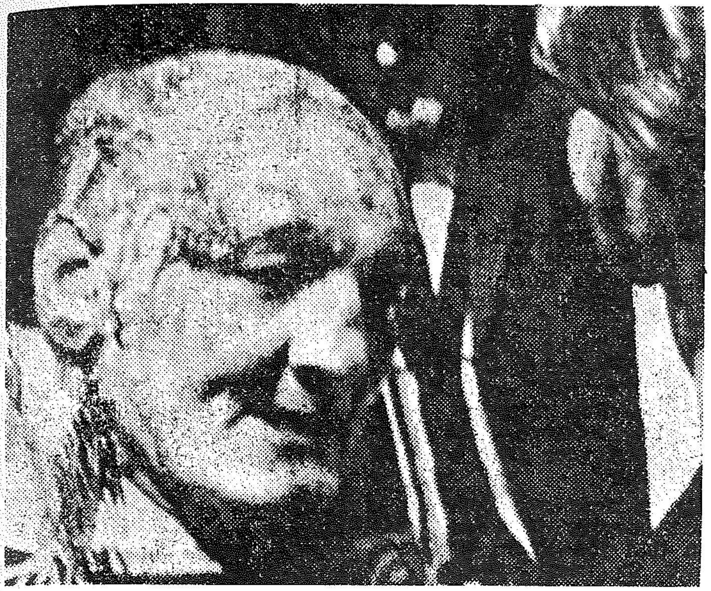
Once she had managed to establish a vast co-ordinating religious-political network, the Catholic Church set out to implement her multiferous subversive activities throughout Ireland, unhampered by the Border, which as far as she was concerned did not exist.

To be sure, her participation in the nationalistic and religious turmoil of the two Irelands was never exposed for what it was. The news value of the petrol bombs, of street warfare, of the para-military or terroristic exploits of the contending sides, saw to it that her hidden manipulations remained undetected.

When to this was added the well organised Catholic and pro-Catholic co-ordination of the Press, radio and TV, her presence was purposely minimised, when not ignored altogether by the mass media of the world.

Yet silence, as we have already pointed out, very often can be more indicative even than bold assertions of active participation. Indeed, in the case of the Catholic Church it became a positive factor for the promotion of violence. The proof that this was so was to be found in the fact that she never fulminated against the advocates or practitioners of violence. On the contrary, she stood seemingly aloof while Irishmen killed each other. This, although one word from her could have minimised the Catholic-Protestant civil war. Indeed, could have immobilised most of the Catholics, both in the North and in the South.

For, verily, it was in her power to command Irish Catholics



The blood-stained face of a Protestant

The face is that of a Protestant. Yet it might have been that of a Catholic. The man was wounded by the opposing religious faction. The latter having resorted to physical violence as a means of expressing their opposition to the others' credence, Church and even political ideas. He was wounded by attacking Catholics while he was participating in a Protestant procession.

Religious extremism, when allied to political or racial emotions, is the most perilous foe of all the civil liberties without which there can be no freedom, individual or collective.

One of the most fundamental principles of a libertarian society is the right to express one's own ideas, thoughts and religious beliefs without harassment, impediment or fear. In Northern Ireland such a principle was undermined very grievously by the two religious factions, the one having become intolerant of the other, to the discredit of the common weal of both communities, or, indeed, the whole Irish race. Hundreds of Protestants were wounded—many were killed—since the religious war began.

on both sides of the Border to lay down their weapons. She could have ordered them to use the flexible machinery of democracy for the redressment of their grievances. Or even for the open advocacy of a United Ireland. The means to do so were at her disposal.

The above is no mere theorisation. It is a concrete formula which the Catholic Church knows how to adopt whenever she judges it opportune.

When, for instance, in the decade following the Second World War Communism seemed to engulf Italy, Pope Pius XII advised Italian Catholic voters not to vote for any Communist candidate. Then he went even further and told them that to vote for Reds was a sin. Not content with that, he emphasised it was a "mortal sin." Realising that millions were still not cowed by this spiritual blackmail, finally he decreed that any Catholic disobeying the Church would be "automatically excommunicated."

Millions of Italians who were about to vote Red were thus prevented from doing so. With particular regard to women voters, who, as in Ireland, were profoundly influenced by the directives from the confessional. The Communist and Socialist coalitions who were about to take over Catholic Italy were thus soundly defeated. Not by their political opponents, but by the Catholic Church, who did not hesitate to use her spiritual authority for the promotion of her own interests.

She also told Catholics at the same period and on the same issues what to do in Belgium and France. And the vast majority of Catholics obeyed.

But an even more striking example is that of Nazi Germany. And this, perhaps, has most significance in the Irish case.

At a certain stage of the complicated German political life, the Catholic Church made an official pact with Hitler. She signed a Concordat with him. Among other things, there were revealing clauses. Hitler was anxious to immobilise the five and a half million Catholics, many of whom were against the Nazis since the Catholics had their own Party, the Centre Party. Hitler thereupon made a secret deal with the Vatican. He promised special privileges, provided the Vatican commanded the Hierarchy to immobilise his Catholic enemies. The deal was accepted.

And so it came to pass that all the German Cardinals and Bishops were ordered by the Vatican to take an oath of fealty to Nazi Germany. Here are the actual words of Article 16: "Before God and on the Holy Gospels, I swear and promise, as becomes a Bishop, loyalty to the German (Nazi) Reich . . ." But the more telling part is the following: "I swear to honour the legally constituted Government AND TO USE THE CLERGY of my diocese to honour it . . . In performance of my spiritual office, and in my solicitude for the welfare and the interests of the German Reich (Nazi Germany) I WILL ENDEAVOUR TO AVOID ALL DETRIMENTAL ACTS WHICH MIGHT ENDANGER IT." These last two lines need no elucidation.

The Hierarchy and clergy from top to bottom were ordered NOT to COMMIT ACTS which might endanger the Nazi Regime.

Why? Because it was in the interests of the Church to see that Nazi Germany at this period did not collapse.

But if this is not as yet sufficiently convincing, then the following should be. Hitler had signed the Concordat on the condition that the Catholic Church order the German Catholic Party to disband itself. The order was given. And the Catholic Party of Germany, having to obey, in 1933 disbanded itself and ceased to exist. Several years before this the Catholic Party of Italy received the same command. It committed suicide, so as to leave the way open to Fascism. The present author heard how it was done from the very man who got the order, none other than the founder and leader of the Catholic Party of Italy, a Catholic priest, Don Luigi Sturzo, the father of the present Christian Democratic Party. The episode was related in detail in the author's other books, CATHOLIC TERROR TODAY, THE VATICAN IN WORLD POLITICS, and VATICAN IMPERIALISM IN THE 20TH CENTURY.

The Catholic Church, therefore, could intervene in the Irish religious war whenever and in whatever she liked with fullest power. She could intervene by ordering the Irish Hierarchy to withdraw their support from the extreme nationalistic elements. She could also immobilise the Catholics of both South and North via the use of spiritual weapons, as she did in the recent past.

But, even more, she can employ the weapon of the Cannon Law. According to the most explicit clause of Cannon Law

Funeral of one of the victims of the Catholic-Protestant riots

During the riots hundreds of troops, police and civilians were badly wounded. There were also many dead. E.g. within one single weekend—first week of July, 1970—six persons died. Five of these were Protestants.

In this picture, the author is seen at the funeral of one of the victims, 60-year-old Mr. Patrick Elliman, of 12 Marchioness Street, Belfast. The funeral here was on the Catholic Falls Road, Belfast. The dead man was a Catholic.

Not all funerals, however, passed as quietly. There were instances when Catholics rioted at the funeral of Protestants. E.g. the funeral of Mr. Robert Mercer, 78-year-old Elim Pentecostal Minister, which ended in uproar, amid a hail of stones, in Belfast City Cemetery, also off the Falls Road, only a few days before the funeral seen above. Mourners were injured, two cars were damaged, one mourner was hit, one man got a cut in the face. Shouting Catholics chanted "Up with the I.R.A.!" The Ministers and relatives had to abandon the service and run to safety, leaving the grave open.

every Bishop, every single priest, must obey the orders of their superiors. That is, the orders of the Church. Disobedient bishops or priests can be suspended or even excommunicated.

The Catholic Church, therefore, if she wanted to, could immobilise—indeed, paralyse—the Catholic promoters of violence throughout Ireland on both sides of the Border, any day it suited her to do so.

This is not speculation. It is a fact. Why has she not used her power to bring order and peace to Ireland?

Because it is in her interests that the religious war between South and North continue.

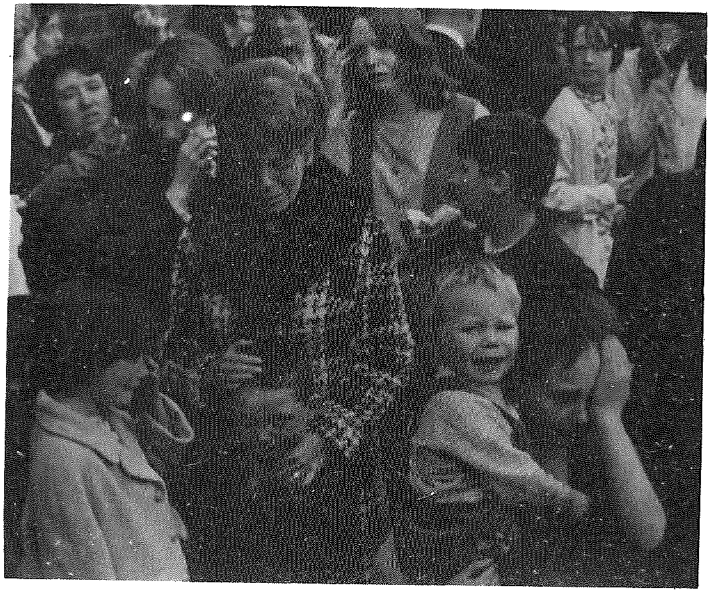
The mere fact that she has not employed her spiritual and canonical armoury proves beyond doubt that she is participating in the Irish war of religion to the best of her ability. This was made very clear by Catholic priests consorting with Civil Rights marchers, Citizens' Defence Committees, and such like bodies, both in the South and in the North. In Ulster, for instance, the Catholic padres whom the present author met were very active in the headquarters of the Belfast Central Citizens' Defence Committee. Indeed, they were closely connected with that body, which in 1970 and 1971 controlled more than 120 street and area "Defence Committees" in the Protestant City of Belfast alone.

The participation of the Catholics of the South in the fermenting of civil unrest and war needs no elucidation. Since the very Government is Catholic. No Dublin Government could exist or rule for twenty-four fours without the support, approval and blessing of the Catholic Church.

Her participation in the North-South Irish struggle, therefore, although almost undetected, nevertheless is concrete, real and sinister. Indeed, it can be said without exaggeration that it is the most sinister imponderable in the current and future life of Ireland.

It cannot be otherwise, since the objective of the Catholic Church is not the independence or unification of Ireland as such. Neither is her concern the welfare of the Irish people. It is her determination to dominate the lives and souls of all Irishmen in the present and in the future, and this she is resolved to do now even more than she did in the past.

To that end she will nurse, encourage and strengthen any national and religious extremism, ideological perversion and



Grief for riot victim — A murdered Catholic boy

One of the most pitiful aspects of any civil war is the maiming or killing of innocent people. A nine-year-old Catholic boy became the innocent victim of the Catholic-Protestant riots in Belfast.

Above, young friends and neighbours are grieving for Patrick Rooney as his coffin leaves the home of a relative in Tullymore Drive, Andersontown, near Belfast, August 18th, 1969, for burial at a nearby cemetery.

Although the killing was accidental, nevertheless it helped to create greater antagonism in the Catholic rank and file. The fact that the Protestants had their share of innocent "victims", far from bridging the gap, enlarged it amid the masses of the uncommitted on either side. The wrecking of houses and the burning of buildings by Catholic and Protestant arsonists brought unnecessary hardship and tragedy to thousands of otherwise unbelligerant crowds. The result was that a great many people, because of their personal tragedies, were thus almost automatically obliged to take sides, thus creating an even more bitter antagonism against their religious opponents.

even physical terrorism.

The Catholic Church is a master of the subtle art of civil struggle. Indeed, she is a past master in fermenting civil wars. The Spanish one of 1936-39 having become a classic example of her participation and triumph.

In the case of Ireland, the Catholic Church has always participated in the influencing and directing of the country's destiny. We have already seen her dubious behaviour prior to and during Ireland's struggle for independence after the first world war.

When not creating events herself, she will exploit genuine or imaginary grievances, national aspirations and denominational antagonism to promote her policies.

The conflict between South and North Ireland having become the most notorious in recent times.

The Catholic Church is as ruthless, as determined, and as unscrupulous as her opposite number, Communism. To reach her objective, like Communism, she will stop at nothing. Except that, unlike the crude plotting of Communism, her machinations very often are almost undetected. By the silent use of her hierarchies she can penetrate within the corridors of power and rule the very government which is ruling the country. As she has done in Southern Ireland since Independence.

So that, by manipulating the civil and military instruments of a democracy, she will attempt to reach her religious and political objectives, while seemingly above the battlefield or seemingly preoccupied with religious issues.

The tragedies caused by the conflict between Northern and Southern Ireland are not only deplorable. They are a stigma on Ireland as a whole. And, even more tragically, a wound which will not be healed for generations, no matter how the situation is solved.

To the Catholic Church, however, the damages caused to Ireland will be worth while. Since, while riding on the wave of patriotic extremism and the natural aspiration for national ethnic and cultural unification of the majority of Irishmen, she will exploit men and movements to carry out her set policy: the total religious domination of all Ireland.

This has been her secular goal since the Reformation. Today she is more determined than ever to reach it. Hence her vested interest in the de facto civil war between the

North and the South, between the Catholic and Protestant sections of Ireland.

Seen in this light, therefore, the Catholic Church is the paramount cause of Ireland's perennial tragedy. Her intransigence makes her so. Since she will not consent to live at peace with any rival that might imperil her hegemony. Because of this, she is determined, now as in the past, to trample upon the Irish race to achieve her objective: namely, the total spiritual and political domination of the land.

chapter 23

The Ultimate Objective: Catholic Totalitarianism in Ireland

— *Elimination of minorities in a United Catholic Ireland*
— *The destructive virus of Catholic culture*
— *The systematic liquidation of Northern Irish Protestantism*
— *The ultimate objective: Catholic totalitarianism through a United Irish Republic*

THE CHRONIC UNREST of Ireland, with particular regard to the religious civil war which trespassed with such multiple calamities across the seventies, therefore, once despoiled of all its social, ideological, economic and civic trappings, could be reduced once more, as in the past, to one single stark denominator: that is, determination on the part of the South and of the Catholics of the North for Irish unification. This, by promoting the polarisation of Protestant resistance to the project and of Catholic determination to carry it out, turned Irish nationalism and Protestant loyalty into a bitter sectarian conflict.

While the Catholics of Northern Ireland, with the exception of an honourable minority, are determined to play the part of Catholic Trojan Horses, no matter what compromise or pseudo-amalgamation, take-over or absorption, invasion or sell-out will come to the fore, the two Irelands will continue to remain separate, hostile and antagonistic. Since the division is not only one of borders, political structures and a way of life, but one of the most intractable religion.

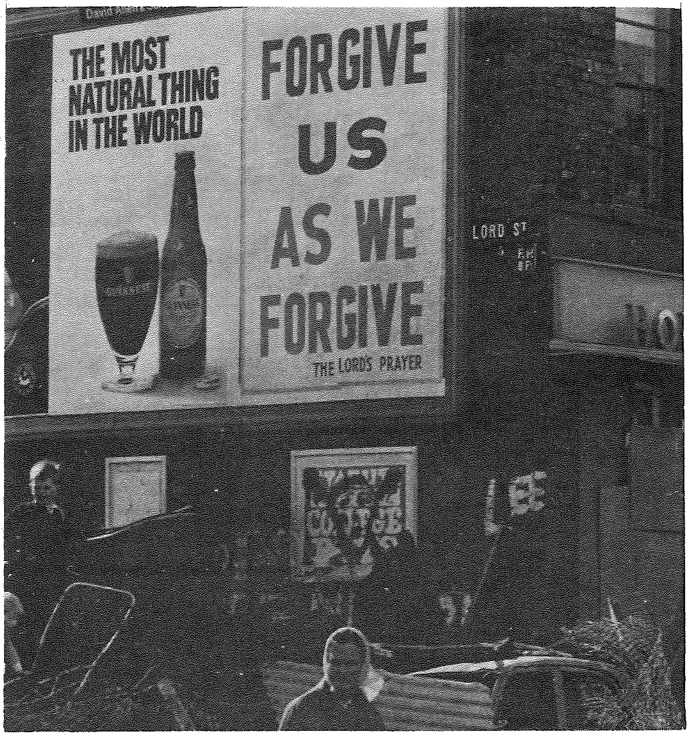
"Religion" here is not meant as the hearing of masses or the singing of Lutheran hymns. It is meant as a way of life based upon profoundly held beliefs. In the present context it is meant to have Protestant Ulster live as an independent and free Protestant land. The Catholic Church, however, means the reverse. In total accordance with Irish nationalism, she means deprivation of Ulster's independence, Ulster's absorption into Catholic Ireland, with the suffocation and ultimate destruction of Protestantism.

In a united and all-Catholic Ireland, the Protestant majority of the former province of Ulster would become a harassed and persecuted minority. The past is the best guarantor that this would be so. Apart from inevitable legal restrictions, religious hamstringing and the like, the Protestants would be compelled to submit, to sell out or even to emigrate altogether.

When the Irish Republic was first established, many Protestants within its borders had to do just that. "One Protestant family who now farms 250 acres in Co. Armagh, once farmed upwards of 3,000 in Co. Cork. In the late thirties, after Cork found itself part of the Republic, the family was *compulsorily* bought out *at a quarter of the market price.*" (1)

We have already examined the sundry trends concerning potential "repatriation" of Protestants with Scottish and English ancestry or even names from Northern Ireland. Whether this will be carried out, should the North be incorporated into the Irish Republic, remains to be seen. At times the enthusiasm of theoreticians or of belligerent patriots can envisage excesses which, when confronted with the harsh concreteness of reality, cool down of their own accord or are only partially carried out, if not abandoned altogether.

Yet, while contemplating that, it would be unwise to dis-



The irony of the Irish Religious Tragedy "Forgive Us . . . . As We Forgive"

The words of the poster so prominently displayed upon a wall in religious war-torn Belfast need no comment. Except that the time, the place, and the hate inspired fighting between Catholics and Protestants make of them a sombre mockery of the Christian spirit.

The words, from the Lord's Prayer used by both Catholics and Protestants in their Churches, are conveniently forgotten once the denominational and political confrontation is carried out in the streets. The petrol bombs hurled by the Catholics against their Protestant opponents were the clearest reminder that "forgive us as we forgive" meant nothing to them or to a small band of Protestants.

The barricade under the poster, however, was the most sinister reminder that the Protestants felt mortally endangered by the Catholic intransigence. Since the ultimate objective of their Catholic enemies was the utter destruction of Protestant Ulster, the reduction of the Protestant majority of Northern Ireland into a Protestant minority sqeezed by an intolerant Catholic majority, manipulated by an intransigent Catholic Hierarchy, directing the Irish Republic from a 100 per cent. Catholic inspired Dublin.

miss them as mere nationalistic and ethnic bravado. Personalities with calculating and determined minds are not easily deterred in promoting policies dreamed of while their dreams were still unfulfilled.

Dreams often come true. Even when not a few of them turn into nightmares. Ireland, for all her gifts, her idealism, vigour and native intelligence, is a land of extremism. Individual and collective excesses there are not the exception. In given circumstances and during periods of restlessness, these can become the rule.

When religious and patriotic sentiments are at work, excesses are committed without hesitation. Hence the danger that on the morrow of any potential Southern take-over the "repatriation" programme may truly be carried out.

But even if dismissing such a nightmarish possibility, more subtle means will set to work in order to undermine and, indeed, to imperil the existence of a Protestant Northern Ireland. One of these will be promoted within a pseudo framework of legality. Thus the most efficient, deadly hand of the Church would be felt in her claim to Catholic teaching in all schools, not to mention her monopoly of the ethical code in hospitals, and the like. The Catholic Church is absolutely ruthless in the field of education. She will tolerate no compromise with the Protestants, or even with the State, except when it favours herself. She is at odds with most governments of the world in that respect.

Between 1970 and 1971, for instance, of the total population of about 55 millions in Great Britain, only something over five million were Catholics. By the law of averages, the Catholics should have had a number of schools proportionate to their number. Nothing of the kind. In a nominally Protestant England, they had the incredible number of 2,900 schools. These were incorporated into the State system. That is to say, the Protestant majority were paying for the Catholic teaching. Education in all these Catholic schools was controlled by the Catholic diocesan committees set up by the Catholic bishops. In short, the religious instruction was wholly in the hands of the Catholic Church. In 1971, this same Church was implanting the Catholic writ in the heads of over 700,000 pupils; that is to say, over 10 per cent. of the entire population of the Protestant country. All these schools are voluntarily aided. By

1971, in the independent sector, there were about 500 Catholic schools educating over 100,000 pupils, of whom, notice, more than one-third were non-Catholics. (2)

If the Catholic Church could promote such an incredible cultural invasion within England, what would, or what could, she not do in Northern Ireland, once the latter had been incorporated into the Catholic Irish Republic, inspired, controlled and ruled by the Catholic Hierarchy?

The result would be that, with the massive pressure of the Catholic Church all around, the new generation of former Protestant Ulster would be obliterated in no time. Facts are there to bear witness. Before Southern Ireland became an independent Catholic Republic, about one-quarter of its citizens were Protestants. By 1971, the one-quarter had been reduced to *less than 5%* of the entire population.

Should Protestant Ulster, therefore, be incorporated into Catholic Eire, the Protestants would once more form a quarter of the entire population of a United Ireland, at the outset. But for how long? They would be reduced to 5% and less within a few decades.

The hostile religious polarities of Catholic and Protestant Ireland, therefore, will continue to provoke mounting telluric commotions, independently of any partial or even final solution. . It cannot be otherwise, the Catholic South being as determined to absorb the Protestant North as the North is determined to resist any such amalgamation.

Were such unification to become a reality, legally or by force, it would annihilate not only history, but also the racial traits of contemporary Ulstermen. As the latter's best guarantee of survival is his Protestantism, it follows that Protestantism, as long as it continues to be a living force, will identify itself with the historic determination of Ulster to stay separate from Catholic Eire.

The fundamental conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Ulster is as simple as that. The issues of Civil Rights, equality, freedom, local franchise and the like, which came to the fore in the 70's, are mere ancillary appendages to this most basic of all problems.

That is how the sundry nationalist factions, the Eire Government itself, the powerful Catholic-Irish lobbies in London and Washington, not to mention the Vatican, interpret the endemic Catholic-Protestant conflict.

The correct long-range interpretation, however, is to be found in the set determination of the Catholic Church to give a mortal blow to the vigorous Protestant Ulster. The unity of Ireland, to the Vatican, would spell the ultimate annihilation of Northern Protestantism. To reach that objective the Church will continue to promote her policies in the future, as she did in the past, and as she is doing now, in the present.

Had it not been for her relentless quest for domination, the problem of Irish patriotism and unification would have been solved decades ago. In Ireland, however, as in so many other lands, the Catholic Church will hide herself behind the screen of national aspirations, to extend her spiritual magistery over all those not yet within her fold. To achieve her ends, she will not refrain from encouraging unrest, advocating civil war, or engineering to ruin individuals and nations. The tragedies of Ireland are nothing new to her, since they have been repeated time and again all over Europe only a few years ago.

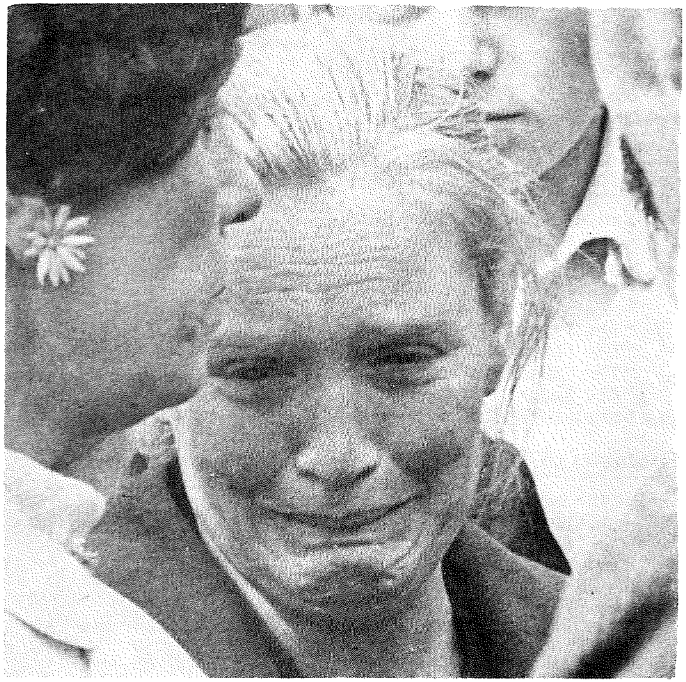
To impose her will upon a whole people, she did not hesitate, as in the Irish case, to use violent nationalism and rabid religious zeal, to persecute, imprison, carry out forcible conversions, and, yes, even to exterminate thousands upon thousands of non-Catholic people who refused to bow to her. We are referring to the nightmare of Croatia, where such incredible atrocities were carried out only a few decades ago, with the full connivance of the Vatican. (3)

In the case of Northern Ireland, a total Catholic take-over would entail the total and ultimate obliteration of the Protestant weal and the Protestant way of life—indeed, of all the Protestants, reduced to a minority within a United Catholic Irish Republic, ruled from Dublin.

Since, to the vast majority of Protestants, the situation would be unacceptable, there would follow mounting discontent, growing unrest, the rapid nursing of denominational hatred, the flaring up of racial animosity, religious intolerance and growing mutual odium. These would spell rioting, fighting, burning, killing and never-ending anarchy.

A sombre prospect.

And, even more, a sombre reminder to all Irishmen, North and South, Catholics or Protestants, to invoke reason. And, better still, to practice tolerance, before it is too late.



The face of the Irish tragedy—A Mother's Grief

Mrs. Alice Rooney leaving to attend the funeral of her nine-year-old son, Patrick, killed during the August riots

Nothing could express more vividly the grief of a mother, whose nine-year-old son was the innocent victim of the religious conflagration between Catholics and Protestants. In all probability, the mother knew next-to-nothing about the basic issues of the Catholic-Protestant war. Although a Catholic herself, she confined her activities solely to her religious duties and beliefs, the major theological and political issues being outside her personal interest. Yet tragedy struck her notwithstanding. The symbol of many God-fearing Catholics, as well as of many God-fearing Protestants, concerned only with their religious allegiance and yet drawn willy-nilly into the devastating Protestant-Catholic conflict.

A tragedy, this, which, when multiplied by the thousand, has rendered the situation the most poignantly widespread throughout Northern Ireland.

FOOTNOTES

Footnotes to Chapter 3

(1) "The Times", 24.4.1969.
(2) "The Times", 25.4.1969.
(3) "The Times", 7.8.1968.
(4) "The Times", 5.8.1969.

Footnotes to Chapter 4

(1) Extract from a Circular of the Northern Ireland and Loyalist Campaign for Justice.
(2) Idem.
(3) Debate, House of Commons, 13.10.1969.
See also "The Times", 14.10.1969.
(4) "The Times", 14.7.1969.
(5) "The Times", 17.7.1969.
(6) "The Times", 15.7.1969.
(7) "The Times", 4.8.1969.
(8) See also report of Scotland Yard, "The Times", 8.1.1970.

Footnotes to Chapter 6

(1) See the world Press.
(2) "The Times", 19.8.69.
(3) "The Times", 19.8.69.
(4) "The Times", 15.10.69.
(5) "The Times", 14.10.69.
(6) "The Times", 15.10.69.
(7) "The Times", 15.10.69.
(8) "The Times", 8.1.70.

Footnotes to Chapter 7

(1) "Vatican Imperialism in the 20th Century", by Avro Manhattan. 444pp. Zondervan - Michegan - and Lyle Stuart Inc., New York, U.S.A. 1966.
Also "Catholic Power Today". Lyle Stuart - New York.
(2) "Cardinal Rinuncini's Embassy to Ireland". Hutton, pp. xxvii-xxix.

Footnotes to Chapter 9

(1) The 20th September, 1969, when giving a policy statement at Tralee, Co. Derry.
See "The Times", 22.9.69.

Footnotes to Chapter 10

(1) For details, see "Protestant Telegraph", 10.1.70
(2) "The Times", 7 Feb., 1970
(3) "Protestant Telegraph", 7.3.70, and daily Press
(4) "Daily Telegraph", 14.2.70
(5) "The Times", 3.4.70
(6) Debate in the House of Commons, 7.4.70
(7) "The Times", 7.4.70

Footnotes to Chapter 13

(1) In its issue of July 12, 1970.

Footnotes for Chapter 14

(1) At a News Conference given by Captain Kelly, reported by "The Irish Independent", 9.5.70
(2) The "Daily Mirror" Supplement, 11.7.70
(3) The "Sunday Times", 14.6.70
(4) "Daily Mirror" Supplement, 11.7.70

Footnotes to Chapter 15

(1) "The Sun", 7.7.70
(2) "The Times", 7.7.70
(3) 8.7.70

Footnotes to Chapter 16

(1) The "Sunday Independent", 12.7.70. Belfast

Footnotes to Chapter 17

(1) "The Guardian", 3.7.70
(2) Ruth Kane, in a letter to the U.S.A. journal, "The Churchman", July, 1970
(3) "The Times", 27.6.70

Footnotes to Chapter 18

(1) Mr. T. MacGiolla. "Daily Mirror Sunday Magazine", 11.7.70
(2) Idem
(3) The "United Irishman", June, 1970
(4) See "My Two Evenings in Dublin", by Avro Manhatten, "Protestant Telegraph", 22.7.67

Footnotes to Chapter 19

(1) "The Guardian", 18.8.1969.
(2) "Daily Mirror" and other national papers, 15.7.1970.
(3) 26.7.1970.
(4) The two gas bombs were thrown onto the floor from the public gallery, 23.7.1970.
(5) June, 1970.
(6) During a major riot in Belfast, 31.7.1970. The funeral took place on 3.8.1970.
(7) Mr. Lynch, to the Irish Parliament, 28.7.1970.

Footnotes to Chapter 20

(1) Lord Gardner, Lord Chancellor of England under the Labour Government, 1964–70.
(2) For more details, see "The Times", 10.3.71, also the "Sunday Times", 14.3.71.
(3) See also the "Daily Mirror", 9.3.71.

(4) See the "Sun", 8.2.71, "The Front Line Kids".
(5) "The Times", 15.3.71. Also Barry's Flying Column, by Ewan Butler, 1971.
(6) The "Daily Mirror", 8.2.71.
(7) The "Daily Express", 7.2.71.
(8) The "Sunday Mirror", 29.2.71.
(9) "The Times", 6.2.71; "Daily Express", 6.2.71, "Sunday Mirror", 28.2.71.
(10) See the "N.S.P.C.C. Journal", "The Child's Guardian", 21.3.71. Also "The Times", 22.3.71.
(11) The "Sunday Mirror", 28.2.71.

Footnotes to Chapter 21

(1) "The Times", 16.2.1971.
(2) "The Times", 6.2.71 and 22.3.71.
(3) The Earl of Longford, in his Biography of Irish Premier, Eamon de Valera, 1970.
(4) D. Dimbleby, BBC TV, December, 1970.
(5) BBC TV "Twenty-four Hours", 20.1.71.
(6) BBC TV "Panorama", 15.2.71.
(7) TV Tyne-Tees, 11.10.70.
(8) The "New Statesman", 4.12.70; also 7.1.71.
(9) The Rev. Ian Paisley, November, 1970. The author was also at the Home Office.
(10) The proposition was written by Avro Manhattan.
See the "New Statesman", 7.1.71.
Also the "Freethinker", 16.1.71.
(11) BBC TV, 15.2.71. Also "The Times", 16.2.71.

Footnote to Chapter 23

(1) Quoted also by John Whale in "The Sunday Times", 12.10.69.
(2) 497 Schools in 1970—see also the "Sunday Times Magazine", 18.1.70.
(3) "CATHOLIC TERROR TODAY", by Avo Manhattan,
Paravision, London, 1970. 75p ($3.).